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Unity, or the Lack of it, in the Social Sciences*

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Nearly thirty years ago as a beginning graduate student in a mid-western university I was much concerned, and somewhat perturbed, over the apparent lack of unity in the social sciences. At present I am much less concerned about this matter and far less perturbed, and the lack of unity I once considered "apparent" I now consider "real."

One particular session of a seminar of that early period stands out in memory. The instructor in the course, an eminent scholar in his field who a few years later became president of one of the national learned societies, held forth convincingly (to me) that it was possible to have a science of society on the pattern of a science of physics or chemistry, provided that investigators used the proper methods and techniques, made the necessary assumptions and had accumulated sufficient facts; and the "laws" discovered in such investigations would become the basis for guiding human activity toward desired ends. Present at that session was a colleague of the instructor, an equally eminent scholar in another social science discipline who also in later years became president of the learned society in his field. The visiting colleague took strong exceptions to the views of my instructor, and the ensuing argument between these two scholars was edifying and enjoyable to the graduate students present. The visiting colleague contended that humans being what they are, it is impossible to have anything like an exact science of society on the pattern of the physical sciences, and even if it were possible it probably wouldn't be desirable anyway. He said much about the importance of free will as a factor in the study of human behavior, and pointed out that individual freedom alone set the problem entirely apart from that in the material sciences where the investigator is confronted with no such difficulty. And what he said had strong implications as to the possibility of control of large masses of people politically organized as in a democracy or in a dictatorship, a point he discussed at some length.

Nevertheless, while admitting the validity of much of what the visiting

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colleague said, I was convinced of the soundness of the views of my own instructor. In his view of the matter I saw eventually a unity in the study of man; and further, it was the "duty" of at least some of us to bring about this highly desirable state as soon as possible. If we knew what "caused" people to behave as they do, and were able to get these causes stated in simple proportions, or "laws," it would then be possible to control the behavior we considered needing control. Problems of crime, poverty, economic conflicts (the Herrin riots were much in the news at the time), corruption, poor health, international conflicts, even wars—could be eliminated if we studied these matters "scientifically." Hadn't the material sciences advanced from the stages of magic and witchcraft to the present with marvelous results in controlling the forces of non-human nature? The material sciences had a long and hard struggle to achieve their present position—at least four or five hundred years of it—so why should the investigator in social science with a history much shorter be discouraged or impatient? Give us time, the social scientists should say to the agnostics, and we will do as much in our field as the physicists and the chemists and the biologists have done in theirs: let us define our problem, let us gather our statistics, let us really go to work. This line of argument had a strong appeal to the beginning graduate student. It was challenging and an element of glamour was not lacking. Here was a unity of purpose, at any rate.

If we consider seriously and candidly the events and trends in the social studies over the past several decades the conclusion seems inevitable that we are farther away from any such fundamental unity than ever before. Instead of concentrating on aims and methodology for an overall science, the trend has been to form innumerable smaller groups having specialized aims and developing in the main their own techniques of investigation designed to solve more or less immediate problems in a more or less specialized sphere of human activity. Perhaps in the welter and variety of activities now going on under the broad umbrella of "social sciences" a new type of unity is being developed, (more of that later) but, at any rate, it might not be too rash to suggest that the hopes for a real science of society is going the way of many dreams—petering out and fading away. One of the guiding principles of scientific method is the measurement of forces and trends, and while statistical data have accumulated at an ever increasing rate and while these data have been extremely useful, especially as they are used under the theory of probability, the results on the overall objective are anything but encouraging. Descriptive studies which throw light on particular problems have multiplied tremendously—at some sort of arithmetic or geometric rate of progression, I suppose—but description alone is hardly enough for the ultimate purpose.

One of the aims of science, I take it, is to predict what will happen under a certain set of conditions and this is self-contradictory when applied to

an individual, or group of individuals in a society organized politically as a democracy, where the attribute of personal freedom is present. (It might theoretically be different under a political dictatorship, where the "subjects" could be treated in the same manner as the chemist treats his "elements." Or it might be different even in a democracy if the individual, or group, whose activity is being predicted remains passive after the prediction.) But, given freedom of personal choice and reduced to simplest terms possible, if two people predict each other's activity and each acts on his prediction, the predictions in all likelihood will be false as often as they are true. If two groups mutually predict one another's activity and act on their predictions, the results are apt to be anything but predictable. In this connection I recall that a number of years ago an agency of one of our state governments followed the practice of making forecasts as to the price of a number of the agricultural products in that state, and the forecasts were made in advance of the planting season for the particular crop. As a result the price at harvesting time was more often than not just the opposite from the prediction. If a high price was forecast the farmers planted more of the crop and the added supply forced the price down when the crop came on the market, if the forecast price was low, just the reverse happened. Here is a case of a prediction being taken seriously—too seriously in fact. After a few years the agency decided it would be better policy not to make price predictions.

The term 'social science' is a very broad concept covering many topics and meaning many things to many people. I suppose the same thing could be said about the term 'material science,' or 'natural science.' Even the dichotomy of social and material (or natural) is not too clear. Is the study of public health, for example, social or material? (as a matter of practice it is both). In some ways the Southwestern Social Science Association is a courageous organization. Perhaps its founding fathers had in mind the desirability of developing a common ground, as it were, for the study of human activity along the lines already mentioned. Or perhaps they had in mind simply the meeting together once a year for the exchange of ideas and the publication of a journal without too much importance given to delimiting standards for membership. The experience of this organization over the years of its existence may or may not be typical of the history of social science in general, but at least it is suggestive. Over the years its component parts have varied somewhat but at present there are nine sections, namely, accounting, agriculture economics, business administration, business research, economics, geography, government, history, and sociology. I am not aware that there is any specific logic in this group of "sections," and certainly it would be rash indeed to say that this grouping constitutes the totality of the social sciences even in the geographic area in which the Association functions. The admission of a new section to the family apparently is not too difficult and requires in the main the existence

of a more or less coherent outside group of people who are interested in studying some phase of human activity, and who make the necessary overtures to the officers of the Association. I have no doubt that other groups could get in if they so wished. I see no reason why such groups as those active in psychology, philosophy, anthropology, rural sociology (we already have agricultural economics), law, comparative religion, or foreign affairs, and there may be others, could not make a good case for admittance.

One may raise some realistic and candid questions about unity as related to our own Association. What do the various sections have in common? What is the common ground of the accountants and the geographers, for instance? In what respect do the historians see eye to eye with the other eight components? If a poll were taken of our "sections" I feel rather certain that one would find very little agreement as to the overall aim of a science of society or its possibility of achievement, or for that matter agreement even among members of the same section. No doubt one could find an individual, or individuals, in our membership who would contend that such an aim is possible of achievement provided certain methods and techniques were followed, probably such methods and techniques being developed by himself or by others in his own particular discipline. I must confess that at one time I thought the sociologists, or rather certain ones of them, were on the right track toward this overall objective, and on this point I have already recorded my skepticism. I have no quarrel with the ivory tower sociologist or the arm-chair economist; more power to them in their disinterested search for truth as they see it, and I am somewhat reluctant to express doubts as to the results of their efforts. We have had such people for centuries, but at present we are as far apart, perhaps further, as we ever have been in a common fundamental approach to the study of mankind. I am fully aware that the membership of the various sections of this Association are not equally concerned about the questions here presented. Some are interested in the immediate problems of training students for a profession, as for example, business administration and accounting, others are more concerned with gathering and analyzing facts to aid in the administering of specific legislative enactments; others are interested in the events that have taken place in the past, and so on. But this situation simply illustrates the point I am making. If there is a fundamental unity as herein defined in the social sciences I have failed to see it in the activities of this Association, or in a wider field of national or international affairs for that matter.

Lest someone get the notion that from the negative approach of a doubting Thomas and you-show-me attitude here expressed, the sponge should be thrown in and we should fold our tents and steal away to our respective specialties, such is farthest from my thought, and quite repugnant. People do work together in social sciences, however defined in aim and

scope, and we in this Association do have a sense of kinship or we wouldn't be here, and this in itself constitutes a sort of unity. And there is also a kind of unity greater than a simple feeling of kinship. Our constitution says that the purpose of the Association is the "promotion, cultivation and correlation of the Social Sciences and their application to the solution of social problems." This is a good statement so far as it goes, and I would say in amplification that we in the social sciences are interested in the acquiring and dissemination of useful knowledge with the individual, or group of individuals the judge of what is useful, conditioned of course by the rules, formalized or unformalized, of the society in which we live. Thus, the quest for useful knowledge constitutes a basic unity.

Let me illustrate what I mean about who should judge what is useful. If a historian decides to study population trends of the middle ages in Europe he should decide whether or not such information is useful. Or again, who but the historian should say it is worthwhile information if he should discover that the only way a certain general in a war of a century ago showed anger was by a slowly creeping redness up the back of his neck.

If a business researcher finds that the price of eggs varied by 7.69 per cent over a 12 month period in X town in 1897, let him be the judge of whether this is useful information. If a sociologist can show that a high correlation exists between juvenile delinquency and divorced parents, more power to him. If a political scientist finds that a proposed legislative enactment has led to certain results where tried out elsewhere, we should agree with him that time taken in his investigations has been well spent. If an economist discovers, or thinks he has discovered, a law of economic production, let no one say his conclusions should be squelched on the grounds that it is of no use anyway.

Now it must be recognized of course that in considering what is useful and not harmful the ethics and moral standards are involved which were referred to as the formal or unformalized rules of society. The discovery of a more effective method of applying a burglar's jimmy might be useful to the one who discovered it, but it is not the kind of useful knowledge to which I refer. Our faith must be that social scientists can be trusted to direct their efforts to those investigations and studies which will meet the approval in general of the society in which they live.

The observation may be made at this point that the quest for useful knowledge is not a unifying factor peculiar to social science but is, or should be, applicable to knowledge in general. It is clearly obvious that such is the case and it leaves one rather chilled in an attempt to find a unifying principle limited to our own "branch" of knowledge. It might be that we could revert to the notion that what unifies us is a common subject matter—that is, human activity—but that too offers difficulties, which will not be gone into here. Or there may be some other grounds for unity.

It seems that it is quite fashionable when special difficulties present themselves, and are considered important enough, to refer the whole matter to a committee. While I am somewhat dubious about the wisdom of this procedure in certain situations, and rather skeptical about the probable results of the deliberation of such a committee on the problem under discussion, still, if the Southwestern Social Science Association is so minded it might have such a committee created and set to work. Such a committee might be made up of one from each of the sections, and from a free-for-all discussion and debate much good might result, both to the Association as such, and to social science in general not to mention the individuals on the committee. The mere fact of getting together and in good faith kicking around the problem would, I think, constitute in itself a sort of unifying factor.

An now a few closing remarks. One of the pertinent facets of the social sciences, which has at least some bearing on the problem of unification, is the relation of our studies to social policy, a facet of increasing importance as society becomes more and more politically organized and controlled. And for the social scientists the situation is none too encouraging as the policy makers, which usually means the "practical politicians," in too many cases use the social scientists to suit their own purposes, or the purposes of the "party." The unfortunate part about it is that the social scientist too often will allow himself to be used so. An "economist," for example, can almost always be found by a politician to endorse any position or program he sees fit to advocate. Even the historians can, I suppose, be prevailed upon to write history with a slant favorable to the party in power, or to the opposition party, as the case may be. I think it is of little avail to place blame or to make recriminations against this state of affairs. To be realistic, what goes for truth in social science is often nothing more than judgement, and judgements are frequently not based on provable facts, or enough of them. From the standpoint of unification it is of course deplorable that economists can be found to give diametrically opposing views to opposing politicians. To say there are "good" economists and "bad" economists may be true enough but such epithets do not help much because one can hardly be sure of the competence of the one doing the talking.

The problems of the social sciences are many and complex. Outside the more practical professional branches in our field, much has to be done if we are to rise above the level of being good or bad handmaidens to the politicians, if it is ever done.

And now this paper is long enough. I almost feel like apologizing for the agnosticisms I have presented and the pessimistic tones that have crept in. And I am constrained to close these remarks with a rough paraphrase of a widely quoted remark of a short while back: the ideas expressed in presidential addresses never die, they just fade away.

The Mexican Constitutional Congress of 1916-1917

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The radical nature of the reforms incorporated in the Mexican Constitution of 1917 and the consequent controversy have tended to obscure the constitution-making assembly. These reforms, however, appear to have been largely the work of the assembly since the Mexican Revolution of 1910 began without a program of social reform and without leaders schooled in the theory and practice of social revolution.

"The Mexican Revolution was nothing more than the insurrection of the Mexican people against a very repressive and wealthy regime represented by the government of General Diaz and against a social, political and economic system supporting such government."¹

"The Revolutionary struggle which began in our country the 20th of November, 1910, was the most profound and powerful social upheaval experienced by the Mexican people. It was born without ideology and without a defined program, under the guise of a simple desire for political democracy."²

The Plan de Guadalupe, issued by Carranza in March of 1913, merely denounced Huerta as a usurper.³ Not until October 3, 1914, in a speech read by Carranza to a meeting of Army chiefs in Mexico City, did he officially mention the need for social reforms.⁴ This program of reforms was further matured by necessity and on December 12, 1914, from Vera

¹Louis Cabrera, "The Mexican Revolution—Its purposes and results," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January, 1917, Supplement, p. 13.

²Ernesto Lobato Lopez, *El Crédito en México* (México, 1945), p. 243.

³"There is in it . . . only this one proposition; the overthrow by force of arms of the government of the usurpation, which is rejected, and to call general elections as soon as the peace of the Republic is reestablished." Luis Melgarejo Randolph and J. Fernandez Rojas (eds.), *Reseña Histórica del Congreso Constituyente de 1916 y 1917* (México, 1917), p. x.

⁴"The social and political reforms of which I have spoken to the principal Chiefs of the Army, as indispensable to satisfy the aspirations of the people for the necessities of economic liberty, political equality and organic peace are, briefly enumerated, those which follow: The guarantee of municipal liberty . . . The solution of the agrarian problem, by means of the allotment of . . . lands. That the Municipalities should expropriate . . . the amount of land necessary to pay for the establishment of schools, markets and court houses . . . To require all enterprises to pay in cash to all laborers, and at least weekly, the price of their labor. To make rules concerning limitation of working hours, a Sunday rest-day, accidents suffered by laborers during their work, and in general the improvement of the economic conditions of the working class." Felix F. Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917* (México, 1939), I, 13-14.

Cruz, where Carranza had been driven by a combination of the forces of Villa and Zapata, he promised to call a Congress immediately following the restoration of order which might "raise to the rank of Constitutional provisions such laws as may have to take that character."⁵ This first official reference to the possibility of a constitutional congress and a new constitution was followed by emergency decrees dealing with the redistribution of lands, minimum wages, maximum hours, abolition of company stores, mining, commerce and credit.⁶ These decrees were vital to the triumph of the Constitutionalist forces and helped to set the stage for the new Constitution.

The decree calling the Constitutional Congress, issued by Carranza from Mexico City September 14, 1916, opened with the assertion that the First Chief had followed faithfully the revolutionary program projected in the decree of December 12, 1914. After a study of the actual and proposed reforms of the Constitutionalist movement,

"It was found that if there are some which do not affect the organization and functioning of the public power, there are in turn others which touch forcefully both organization and functions (tocar forzosamente este y aquella)."

"Having analyzed the problem thus, it is logically seen that the only means to achieve the indicated ends, is a constitutional Congress, through whose conduct the entire nation expresses in an undoubted manner its sovereign will; for in this manner at the time will be discussed and resolved in the form and manner most adequate all the questions which at the time are demanding a solution which will satisfy fully public necessities, and will obtain the establishment of legal order upon solid bases in a relatively brief time, and in terms in every manner legitimate so that no one will be able to impugn them."⁷

The States, Territories and Federal District were authorized to elect one Deputy and one alternate for every seventy thousand inhabitants or fraction in excess of twenty thousand, on the basis of the census of 1910. States or Territories with less than seventy thousand inhabitants were authorized to elect one Deputy and one alternate. Only those with the qualifications of Deputies under the Constitution of 1857 and who were friendly to the Constitutionalist cause were eligible for membership in

⁵Venustiano Carranza, *Addiciones al Plan de Guadalupe y decretos dictados conforme a las mismas* (Vera Cruz, 1915), pp. 10-13; Cabrera, *op. cit.*, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, Jan., 1917, Sup., pp.

⁶*Codificación de los Decretos del C. Venustiano Carranza* (Mexico, 1915), pp. 154-157, 194-196; *Addiciones al Plan de Guadalupe . . .*, pp. 31-32, 33-35, 37-39, 53-55; Edwin W. Kemmerer, *Inflation and Revolution, Mexico's Experience of 1912-1917* (Princeton, N. J., 1940), pp. 33, 62, 69-70, 102, 106-108.

⁷Palavicini states that he first suggested to Carranza the calling of a constitutional congress. In support of this he cites a series of articles which he published in "El Pueblo," at Vera Cruz from January to April, 1915. Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 21-53.

the Congress. The First Chief pledged himself to present a proposed constitution to the Congress when it was installed in which "shall be included the reforms dictated and those which shall be dictated until the convening of the Constitutional Congress." The decree significantly added in Article 6,

"The Constitutional Congress shall not occupy itself with any other subject than that indicated in the foregoing article, it will be obligated to discharge its commission in a period of time which shall not exceed two months, and at the conclusion shall issue a Constitution in order that the Chief of the Executive Power may convoke, in conformity thereto, elections of the general powers in all the Republic. Having completed its work the Constitutional Congress shall dissolve."⁸

The decree of September 14 was followed by another on the 19 regulating the time and place of the meeting of the Congress, the rules under which it should operate and specifying the oath of office which the Deputies should take. The city of Querétaro was designated as the place of meeting and December 1 of the current year (1916) as the date. Sunday, October 22, was the date set for the election of Deputies to the Congress. The rules of the Congress were to be the same as the rules of the Chamber of Deputies of the regular Congress, with such exceptions as the constitutional assembly might see fit to make. The assembly should verify the elections of its own members. The members should not be molested for any opinions they might express in the exercise of their duties and were free from arrest for misdemeanors (*delictos*) during the sessions of the Congress, which should have power to punish its own members.⁹

Article 9 of the decree of September 19 laid down strict rules for attendance and Article 10 provided the oath to be administered to the Deputies by the President of the Assembly.

President—Do you swear to fulfill loyally and patriotically the post of Deputy of the Constitutional Congress which the people have conferred upon you, taking

⁸Melgarejo and Rojas, *El Congreso Constituyente de 1916 y 1917*, pp. 117-125; *Diario Oficial*, September 22, 1916.

⁹For electoral purposes the following were considered residents of the States qualified to vote for Deputies to the Congress:

I—Its citizens.

II—Those who were born in its territory during change of residence.

III—Those who have resided in its territory not less than six months before the date of the elections; and

IV—Those who had the quality of citizens or residents of the respective State in the days of the uprising in Mexico City (*cuartelazo de la Ciudadela*), having continually demonstrated since with positive acts their adherence to the constitutionalist cause.

Melgarejo and Rojas, *El Congreso Constituyente de 1916 y 1917*, pp. 129-132; *Diario Oficial*, September 22, 1916; Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 132.

care in everything for the re-establishment of the constitutional order of the Nation, in accord with the Plan of Guadalupe of March 26, 1913, and its additions issued in Veracruz December 12, 1914, reformed on the 14th day of September of the current year?

Deputy—Yes, I swear (Sí, protesto).

President—If you do not do this, the Nation will hold you responsible.

The First Chief again pledged himself to attend the installation of the Congress and present a project for a reformed Constitution. After the Congress concluded its labors it was to sign the new Constitution, swear to support it, and call a session in which the First Chief was to swear allegiance to the Constitution. Upon the publication of the Constitution all the civil and military authorities of the Republic were to swear to support it. The final Article (15) specified that the Deputies should receive the sum of 60 pesos a day during the time of their functions plus travel expenses to and from Queretaro.¹⁰

These decrees made it clear that Carranza intended to control the Constitutional Congress, if possible. His wish that the Congress restrict itself to the consideration of the project which he presented was specified clearly in Article 6 of the Decree of September 14. The Deputies were required to take a solemn oath to be guided by the Plan of Guadalupe and its various modifications; and the powers of the Congress over its own members included the right to seat or refuse to seat the Deputies and the power of suspension and expulsion.

Federal supervision of the elections, held on Sunday, October 22, was in the hands of Jesus Acuña, Minister of Gobernación. He used his extensive powers, supplemented by a decree of October 9, 1916 suspending constitutional guarantees, to favor the Obregón radicals in so far as he could without deviating openly from the electoral law.¹¹

The Governors of the States, who owed their nomination to Señor Carranza, gave slight importance to the Minister of Gobernación and in each federal entity elections were conducted according to the political wishes of the governors with a few rare exceptions. In the Federal District, under the personal vigilance of the First Chief, the elections were free, the struggle spirited (*renida*), and in spite of the interference (*ingerencia*) of local authorities, the Governor of the District and the Office of the Military Commandant, the Deputation of the Federal District was composed for the most part of men who were truly representative.¹²

¹⁰Melgarejo and Rojas, *El Congreso Constituyente de 1916 y 1917*, pp. 129-132; *Diario Oficial*, September 22, 1916; Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 132.

¹¹The ballots were to contain only the name of the State, the Municipio and the number of the electoral district. The voters were to write in the names of the Deputy and alternate for whom they wished to vote. *Diario Oficial*, September 22, 1916.

¹²Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 57.

Even in the Federal District, however, less than one-twentieth of the voters appeared at the polls. In most of the other electoral districts there was only one candidate, and elections were generally accompanied by a "glacial indifference."¹² "There did not exist at that time political parties to give rise to any struggle whatever . . . The natural result of the election was to bring to the seats of the Constitutional Congress a group of military and civil actors in recent events of the revolution."¹³

On Tuesday, November 21, enough delegates were present to commence the preparatory sessions which were held in the auditorium of the Academy of Fine Arts of the city of Querétaro. Temporary officers were elected and committees designated for the examination of credentials. These preparatory sessions were held as the arrival of Deputies necessitated between Tuesday 21 and Thursday 30.¹⁴

¹²Melgarejo and Rojas, *El Congreso Constituyente de 1916 y 1917*, p. 136.

¹³Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 62-63.

Eleven preparatory session were held. *Diario de los Debates del Congreso Constituyente*, (Mexico, 1917,) I, 1-257.

¹⁴The commission to examine credentials was composed of 15 members and all contested credentials were submitted to the vote of the Congress itself. Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 62.

It was at these sessions that the plot against the so-called "Renovadores" occurred. The "Renovadores" were members of the general Congress who had remained after Huerta's usurpation, but had followed obstructionist policies, legally seeking a change in government. After the assassination of Madero most of them had withdrawn from the Congress and joined the Constitutionalist forces. The more important members of this group were Felix F. Palavicini, Alfonso Craviato and José N. Macías. They defended themselves so ably that they were admitted to the Assembly, in which they played a leading role individually rather than as a group. They were the personal friends of Carranza with prominent positions in the Constitutionalist government upon whom the First Chief was apparently relying to promote his proposed constitution in the Congress.

Palavicini, who has devoted considerable space to this incident in print, believed that the opposition came from the Obregon radicals who wished to seize control of the congress from Carranza. He regarded Obregon, who was not a member of the Congress, as the originator, and back-stage manipulator in the plot and Jesus Acuña, Minister of Gobernación, as the cat's-paw.

Palavicini spoke ably and at length in his own behalf when his credential was considered on the night of November 28. A proposal by the Commission on credentials to disallow the elections of Palavicini and Craviato was defeated, 142-6. *Ibid.*, I, 81-107; Jaime H. Plenn, *Mexico Marches* (N.Y., 1939), pp. 162-163; Melgarejo and Rojas, *El Congreso Constituyente de 1916 y 1917*, pp. 749-750.

The arrival of new members brought up the problem of credentials on several occasions even after the commencement of regular sessions. Molina Enriquez remarks wryly. "Just as in all of our Congresses half the time was lost in its establishment and in the discussion of credentials. In this Congress all the month of December, 1916, was occupied in this manner up to the first days of January, 1917, when it commenced to work on the Constitution." Andrés Molina Enriquez, *Esbozo de la Historia de los Primeros Diez Años de la Revolución Agraria de México (de 1910 a 1920)* (Mexico, 1936), V. 168.

A few days before the opening of the Congress Carranza set out on horseback from the Capital for Querétaro. On the last day of the preparatory sessions the Congress transferred to the Iturbide Theatre, which continued to be the meeting place for the remainder of its sessions. Permanent officers were elected and preparations completed for the first official meeting the next day, Friday, December 1, 1916.

One hundred and fifty Deputies were present, all States being represented except Chiapas, where no elections had yet been held. At four thirty o'clock in the afternoon Carranza and his retinue rode through the streets of the city on horseback amid much acclaim by the populace and presented themselves at the Theatre to be greeted with applause and loud *vivas*. The First Chief, after being seated on the left of the President of the Assembly,¹⁶ read his speech, during the course of which a power failure forced him to complete his address by the light of hastily produced candles.¹⁷

In his speech to the opening session Carranza made his own analysis of the general course of Mexican politics, his justification of the Revolution and his explanation of the provisions of his project. He dismissed the Constitution of 1857 with faint praise.

"Unfortunately the legislators of 1857 were satisfied with the proclamation of general principles which could not be carried into practice, in accordance with the necessities of the Mexican people, in order to give them quick and full satisfaction, so that our political code has in general the abstract formulas in which have been condensed scientific conclusions of great speculative value, but from which it is possible to derive little or no positive utility."

He felt that the personal guarantees under the Constitution of 1857 were not adequately observed, that the principle of federalism had been abused and that separation of powers had been ignored.

The President of the Congress, Luis Manuel Rojas, accepted the proposed constitution in the name of the Assembly and made a brief reply giving assurances that the project would receive careful consideration.¹⁸ Thereafter Carranza attended only a few sessions of the Congress until the completed Constitution was formally presented to him at the conclusion of its work.¹⁹

¹⁶Mecham, *Church and State in Latin America*, p. 470; *Diario de Debates*, I, 260.

¹⁷*New York Times*, December 3, 1916.

¹⁸Mecham, *Church and State in Latin America*, p. 470; *New York Times*, December 3, 1916. Melgarejo and Rojas, *El Congreso Constituyente de 1916 y 1917*, pp. 227-258; *Diario de Debates*, I, 260-270; Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 144-164.

¹⁹Molina Enriquez says that Querétaro was the official seat of the Carranza government at this time. Molina Enriquez, *La Revolución Agraria de Mexico*, V, 168.

The purpose of the electoral procedure, the oath of office and the appearance of Carranza before the opening session of the Congress may well have been, as his critics contend, to impress his will upon the actions of the Assembly.²⁰ The proposed Constitution he presented to the Assembly contained only a few important changes from the Constitution of 1857 all of which could easily have been added by amendment. In fact, the project omitted some of the more important reforms instituted by decree from Vera Cruz during the period of constitutionalist desperation.

Why then did Carranza want a Constitutional Congress to put these changes in the form of a new constitution? The Obregon radicals feared—not entirely without cause—that once having regained control of the capital and a sizable portion of the Republic by exploiting a program of social reforms Carranza might abandon his reform program.²¹ They felt that he hoped to soften opposition to his conservative turn by going through the ceremony of drafting and adopting a new constitution in which some of the reforms already launched as decrees would be omitted and forgotten. The radicals regarded Palavicini, Macias and Cravioto, because of their past association with the First Chief, as his handpicked Deputies to put through the Carranza project.²² If this was Carranza's

²⁰Gruening calls the Congress a "Constitutionalist party convention." Gruening, *Mexico and Its Heritage*, p. 99.

In the preliminary sessions of the Assembly Paulino Machorro y Narvaez, Deputy from Jalisco and subsequently a member of the second Committee on Constitutional Reforms, admitted the Congress did not represent a majority of the Nation.

"The Present Revolution is not yet popular in Mexico. The greater part of the Mexican people is still against the Revolution; the upper class, some of the old intellectual element, a part of the middle class, and some of the laboring class, are against the Revolution. Clerks and office employees, who are the mainstay of the middle class, are against the Revolution. We are still a minority." *Diario de Debates* I, 71.

Also cited in J. L. Mecham, *Church and State in Latin America*, p. 467; and Gruening, *Mexico and Its Heritage*, p. 100.

²¹Once the constitutionalist government had returned to Mexico City Carranza had indeed taken a more conservative turn. A general strike in the Federal District in July, 1916, was suppressed with great severity. Carranza revived and used against the strikers a law of January 25, 1862, used by Juarez to suppress revolution. It was applied by Carranza to agitations of laborers which threatened the public order and the workers were sternly reminded that "they are only a small part of society and that it does not exist solely for them, for there are other classes whose interests it is not legal to violate and whose rights are equally respectable." *Diario Oficial*, August 21, 1916. Moises Poblete Troncoso, *El Movimiento Obrero Latino Americana* (Mexico, 1946), pp. 219-220.

²²The project of the First Chief appeared to have been made expressly to demonstrate the unwillingness of the First Chief to fulfill the promises of the Revolution

intention he was doomed to disappointment because the Congress soon showed its independence with Carranza's supposed agents actively supporting the most radical reforms, differing from the radicals only in not being extremely anti-clerical. "It was not a manageable Assembly, it was not a Congress of unprincipled or servile members."²⁸

In all 216 Deputies were elected and 204 alternates. Of this number, 207, including some alternates, signed the completed Constitution. The alternates attended when their corresponding Deputy was absent or failed to appear, consequently the total number of persons participating as members of the Congress, from first to last, was approximately 220. There were representatives from 28 States and 2 Territories. No elections were held in some of the districts and several of the States were represented by fewer Deputies than those to which they were entitled. This was particularly true of States where Villa was strong, like Chihuahua, which had only one representative. Eight States and the Federal District had 10 or more Deputies each. These were: Jalisco 20, Vera Cruz 19, Puebla 18, Guanajuato 18, Michoacán 17, Mexico 13, Federal District 12, Hidalgo 11, and Oaxaca 10.²⁹ The Constitutionalist Army was well represented with about 50 officers also members of the Assembly, a large number of these claiming the title of general. A few civil officials of the Constitutionalist Government were also Deputies.³⁰

expressed in detailed form in the decree of the 12th of December, 1914." Molina Enríquez, *Historia de la Revolución Agraria de México*, V, 168.

Deputies Macias, Palavicini and Cravioto had participated in the formation of the project with Macias playing the role of draftsman. They were consequently familiar with its contents which were virtually unknown to the other members of the Congress. Melgarejo and Rojas, *El Congreso Constituyente de 1916 y 1917*, pp. 280-281; *New York Times*, September 15, 1916.

"It was known that the First Chief, Señor Carranza, with Señors Luis Manuel Rojas and Natividad Macias, had prepared a project of reforms of the existing Constitution, but no one was acquainted with this project until the Congress was formally installed at which time the project was presented in printed form with the clear and precise insinuation that it should be approved." Molina Enríquez, *Historia de la Revolución Agraria de México*, V, 168.

²⁸Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 64.

²⁹"The Congress, from its first formal session, was against the First Chief . . ." Molina Enríquez, *Historia de la Revolución Agraria de México*, V, 168.

³⁰Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 64.

³¹There are slight differences in the various accounts of the Congress concerning the number and rank of Army officers. One account notes 45 generals, another 46 officers. The references to military titles in the debates appear to be neither accurate nor consistent. Mechem, *Church and State in Latin America*, p. 467; Melgarejo and Rojas, *El Congreso Constituyente de 1916 y 1917*, p. 753.

Deputies Palavicini, Macias and Cravioto were in the Ministry of Public Instruction. Deputy Aguiere Berlanga was appointed Minister of Gobernación during the sessions of the Congress, apparently with the hope of healing the breach between

The membership of the Assembly fell into three groups according to political affiliation: the liberals, the Obregon radicals or Jacobins as they were called, and the independents. The liberals generally favored Carranza's constitutional project. José N. Macías, Luis M. Rojas, Alfonso Cravioto, Felix F. Palavicini and Generals Amaya, Pesqueira, Nafarrate, Aguilar and Ugarte were the outstanding liberals. Generals Calderón, Aguirre, Múgica and Jara were generally regarded as militarist, Jacobin, *Obregonistas*. Manuel M. Diegues was often spoken of as the outstanding independent.²⁹ All of the members regarded themselves as revolutionists and radicals. One of the delegates said:

There are three groups in this Chamber: one of liberals, the other of Jacobins and the third of independents. The first two groups have (each) about seventy persons more or less, and neither liberal group can triumph if they cannot count on the vote of the independents.

At present the liberals are the *Carrancistas*, that is to say those individuals who for one reason or another desire to approve the Project of Reforms of the First Chief, while the Jacobin liberals are the *Obregonistas*.

The conservative party is totally dead. On its last day it was overwhelmed in *el Cerro de las Campanas*.³⁰

The Congress elected its own officers on November 30, 1916. Luis Manuel Rojas, head of the Masonic order of the Republic, was elected President, with the duty of presiding over the meetings. Fernando Lizardi was elected the Secretary. The President refused to exercise the power of designating the members of the Committees on Constitutional Reforms.³¹ They were, therefore, elected by the Assembly itself, using written ballots. The other committees were designated by the President with the approval of the Assembly. The Congress set up 12 committees

the Congress and Obregon. He refused to accept any official position in the Congress and evidently subsequently withdrew. Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 58, 60, 131.

Deputy Pastor Rouaix was Minister of Development, Colonization and Industry on leave to serve in the Congress. "The First Chief, Señor Carranza, thought highly of Señor Rouaix, so much so that he was the only member of his cabinet who remained in the Congress as a deputy, serving with tact and with prudence which has not received sufficient praise. He was the connection between the Congress and the executive."

Molina Enríquez, *Historia de la Revolución Agrária de México*, V, 172.

²⁹Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 63.

³⁰Melgarejo and Rojas, *El Congreso Constituyente de 1916 y 1917*, pp. 456-457; Clark, *Organized Labor in Mexico*, pp. 47-48.

³¹"A few creoles, who formed the *right*, as it is now called, were selected; a few from elements foreign to our nationality gained entrance also; but in general these elections did not result badly, the more or less radical *left* being dominant." Molina Enríquez, *Historia de la Revolución Agrária de México*, V, 168.

³²*Diario de Debates*, I, 341.

in all. There were two Editorial committees, two committees on Constitutional Reforms and one each for Style, Administration, Petitions, Diary of Debates, Rules and Regulations, Archives and Library, and two to serve as Grand Juries.²⁰

The two Committees on Constitutional Reforms were the most important because to them were referred proposals considered as reforms of the Constitution of 1857. The first of these Committees consisted of Francisco J. Múgica (chairman), Enrique Colunga, Luis G. Monzón, Enrique Recio and Alberto Román. The second Committee on Constitutional Reforms was elected by the Assembly on December 23, when the business of the Congress became pressing. It was composed of Paulino Machorro y Narváez (chairman), Hilario Medina, Arturo Méndez, Heriberto Jara and Agustín Garza González. The vital proposals, which made the Constitution of 1917 a revolutionary document, came to the Congress through these two committees.²⁰ After the installation of all the officers the President of the Assembly made the following solemn declaration:

The honorable Constitutional Congress of the United Mexican States, convoked by the First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army, in charge of the Executive Powers of the Union, in the decree of the 19th of September last past, is now legally established.²¹

The Constitution of 1917 is substantially a repetition of the Constitution of 1857, with a few minor reforms, but with four great revolutionary additions. The general machinery of government remained virtually unchanged, with agrarian reform, anti-clericalism, anti-foreign economic imperialism and labor reform added. The Constitution of 1857 had also included reforms on these subjects to which the Carranza project evidently intended no extensive additions. Article 27 of the project, which contains the important agrarian recommendations of Carranza, differed from Article 27 of the 1857 Constitution in that it permitted administrative action in expropriation of private property for public use and by stating specifically that villages should retain their *ejidos* or communal lands and

²⁰There were two vice-presidents and seven assistant secretaries elected. The President of the Assembly then took the oath prescribed by Article 10 of the Decree of September 22.

New York Times, December 2, 1916; Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 131-132, 163; II, 627-628.

²⁰Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 163, 404.

²¹The proclamation of the official opening of the Assembly gave rise to a flood of inspirational oratory dealing with the importance of the occasion. Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 132-139.

that a future law should permit the restoration of those which had been lost.⁸²

The anti-clerical additions to the 1857 Constitution are found chiefly in Articles 3 and 27 of Carranza's project. These provide respectively that public education shall be free and laical and that institutions of public and private beneficence shall not be administered by religious corporations or directed by ministers of religious cults. The labor reforms of the Carranza project, found in Articles 5 and 9, provide only that labor contracts shall not be for a longer period than one year and that freedom of association shall be protected. The anti-foreign economic imperialism additions are found chiefly in articles 27 and 33 of the project. The first provides that no commercial enterprise of any kind may own or administer real-estate other than that absolutely necessary for the conduct of the enterprise, while Article 33 provides for arbitrary expulsion of dangerous foreigners from the Republic by administrative action of the President.⁸³

These rather mild reforms of the 1857 Constitution presented by Carranza make it clear that the radical provisions of the 1917 Constitution were the work of the Congress itself. The manner of presentation, development and adoption of these radical additions is therefore of considerable importance. The religious reforms were the first to be discussed. The bulk of these debates came in connection with the discussion of Article 3 during the week of Monday, December 11, to Saturday, December 16, 1916. The Committee on Constitutional Reforms recommended additions to the article in Carranza's project which would prohibit all religious institutions from establishing schools of primary instruction, forbid all ministers of religious cults from teaching in elementary schools and make all private primary schools subject to public supervision.⁸⁴

This gave rise to prolonged and somewhat heated debate with Palavicini carrying the burden of the debate against and Múgica presenting the best case in favor of the report of the Committee. The report of the Committee was finally adopted on December 16 by a vote of 99 to 58. The votes on the religious articles were the only ones in which the members of the Assembly lined up clearly as Carrancista liberals or Obregonista radicals. All of those frequently spoken of as radicals voted in

⁸²*Ibid.*, I, 170; Melgarejo and Rojas, *El Congreso Constituyente de 1916 y 1917*, pp. 301-302; *Diario de Debates*, I, 344.

⁸³Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 172.

⁸⁴Mecham, *Church and State in Latin America*, pp. 468-474; Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I 172.

favor and all those regarded as followers of Carranza voted against.⁸⁶ The debates on Article 24 and 129, which later became Article 130 of the Constitution, did not take place until the evening of Saturday, January 27. This was a completely new addition to Carranza's project and was almost entirely the work of the Committee on Constitutional Reforms. The debates were much more brief than those on Article 3 with the final vote of 93 for and 63 against, very similar to the vote on Article 3.⁸⁷

The discussion of labor reforms by the Congress opened Tuesday, December 26, 1916, with the report of the Committee on Constitutional Reforms of Article 5 of Carranza's project. The debates on this subject extended on into the session of Thursday, December 28. These discussions indicated a general feeling that the provisions of the Carranza project did not go far enough. At this point the Assembly was presented with two motions, both much to the same effect. Deputy Manjarrez proposed that the Congress should devote itself to the consideration of a new section of the Constitution to be entitled "Concerning Labor" and that a special commission should be appointed to present a project. Deputies Ochoa, R. de los Ríos and J. M. Rodríguez moved that the Assembly postpone voting on Article 5 until a chapter on labor could be written. Deputy Macías suggested that an informal group headed by Pastor Rouaix should meet outside the regular session hours and formulate a labor code which should then be presented for consideration. This was the procedure agreed to. "As had been proposed, all those Deputies who desired full legislation in the matter of labor and that this subject should not be left to organic laws, met in the offices of Engineer Pastor Rouaix and

⁸⁶Calderón, Colunga, Góngora, Jara, Múgica, Récio and Román, frequently spoken of as leaders of the Radicals, all voted for.

⁸⁷Cravioto, Macías, Palavicini, Rouaix and Rojas, often designated as leaders of the Liberals, all voted against. Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 272; *Diario de Debates*, I, 534-535.

It was decided, over the opposition of the Carrancistas (108-57), that the articles should be considered separately instead of by Chapters. Múgica insisted that his Committee would present and discuss reports on single articles and the Assembly agreed to this procedure. Carranza was present at some of these discussions, according to some accounts, at the invitation of his supposed agents with the purpose of intimidating the Assembly. *Diario de Debates*, I, 419-420.

Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 219-220; Molina Enríquez, *Historia de la Revolución Agraria de México*, V, 168-171.

Molina Enríquez, who was present at some of these sessions, as an expert on agricultural questions to advise the Committee on Constitutional Reforms, indicates that not all of the votes were recorded as actually cast. *Ibid.*, V, 179.

⁸⁸Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 565-602; *Diario de Debates*, II, 753-754.

A full discussion of the formulation of the religious articles is omitted since this subject is adequately treated elsewhere. Mecham, *Church and State in Latin America*, pp. 468-474.

under his presidency."⁸⁷ In these sessions, similar to those out of which Article 27 emerged, was formulated the project of the chapter "Labor and Social Provisions" which became Article 123 of the Constitution.

In all there were five proposals for the regulation of labor presented to the Congress, the first two rather brief, the last three rather extensive. These were: the proposals of the Carranza project, presented on the first day; the first report of the Committee on Constitutional Reforms, presented December 26; a labor law, worked out by Deputy Macías while the Constitutionalist Government was in Vera Cruz, the background and important parts being discussed on December 28; the report of the junta under Señor Rouaix, presented January 13 and the final report of the Committee on Constitutional Reforms, presented January 23.⁸⁸ The first two proposals are mere revisions of Article 5 of the Constitution of 1857. The last three had many features in common and many similarities with the final provisions of Article 123 of the Constitution. The general plan of the report of the junta was sketched out by Sr. Rouaix and José I. Lugo, chief of the Department of Labor in the Ministry of Fomento, a non-member, participating at the request of Sr. Rouaix. This report was signed by 8 deputies and 60 more signed a statement expressing general approval. Deputies Aguilar, Góngora, Jara, Macías and Luis Manuel Rojas were mentioned as having been especially helpful, from which it must be assumed that Sr. Macías discussed his proposed law in full with the junta and with the Committee on Constitutional Reforms.⁸⁹

The Committee on Constitutional Reforms made only two significant additions to the report of the junta. No really important provisions were added to this article as a result of the discussions of the Assembly. Consequently Article 123 of the Constitution contains no significant additions to the report of the Committee.⁹⁰ The final debates on Article 5 and 123 continued only during January 24 and 25. Regulation of labor had

⁸⁷Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 285-320; *Diario de Debates*, II, 739-741.

⁸⁸Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 164-165, 285-286, 302-309, 323-326, 329-334; Mario de la Cueva, *Derecho Mexicano del Trabajo* (Mexico, 1938), pp. 112-117; *Diario de Debates*, I, 725-734; II, 261-265, 602 et seq.

⁸⁹Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 320, 326-327, 336-337.

Molina Enríquez says, that due to the sincere work of all concerned and particularly of Deputy Góngora, who displayed great energy and talent in editing the work of the junta, the projects of Articles 27 and 123 were both ready to send to the Assembly at the same time. Molina Enríquez, *Historia de la Revolución Agraria de México*, V, 178.

⁹⁰The report of the Rouaix junta, entitled "Concerning Labor," contained the essential elements of Article 123: Maximum hours, limitation on labor of women and children, childbirth benefits for women, minimum wages, overtime, housing, public markets, workmen's compensation for accidents, sanitation, labor unions and employees' associations, strikes and lockouts, conflicts between capital and labor, debts

already been debated in the Assembly December 26, 27 and 28. The unofficial junta under Deputy Rouaix also debated this subject from about January 1 to 13, which was then further debated in the Committee on Constitutional Reforms from January 13 to 23. The final debates on January 24 and 25 were somewhat discursive, but did not add anything to the final report of the Committee except a few revisions in wording. On the last day of these debates, Thursday, January 25, the two articles were approved together by a unanimous vote of 163-0.⁴¹ This was considered a great triumph for the Obregón radicals who were responsible for the alliance between labor and the Constitutionalist forces.⁴²

Article 27 of the Constitution contains extensive agrarian reforms and severe restrictions on foreign economic enterprises as well as on ownership of property by religious corporations. Deputy Pastor Rouaix, who was known to be interested in agrarian reform, was asked by General

of laborers, employment services, conditions for labor contracts, unemployment insurance and workmen's cooperatives.

The committee report made legislation on labor obligatory on the National Congress and the State Legislatures and required the establishment by law of an inalienable family patrimony.

Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 323-326, 330-334.

⁴¹Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 286-318, 319-322, 327-329, 334-345; Molina Enriquez, *Historia de la Revolución Agraria de Mexico*, V, 176; *Diario de Debates*, II, 625.

⁴²Obregón seems to have regarded this Article as political payment to labor for military aid to the Constitutionalist army rendered by labor battalions under the pact signed February 17, 1915, between Obregón and the *Casa del Obrero Mundial*. Also and possibly more important, Obregón felt that his political career depended heavily upon the continued support of labor. Frank Tannenbaum, *Peace by Revolution* (N.Y., 1933), p. 233; Clark, *Organized labor in Mexico*, pp. 28-30.

The text of the most important articles of this pact is found in *La Industria, el Comercio y el Trabajo en Mexico Durante la Gestión Administrativa del Señor General Plutarco Slias Calles*, Secretaría de Industria, Comercio y Trabajo, 1925-1927 (Mexico, 1928), III, 25-26.

"Villa, with his knowledge of timing and with the audacity and the impetuosity which were his characteristics, attacked Torreón very suddenly and took it, expelling from its plaza General Jacinto Trevino. The frontier was once more in his hands . . . The Constitutionalist Government thus found itself obligated to change four times the command of the chieftanship of military operations of the State of Chihuahua in order to be victorious."

"But the first Chief, Señor Carranza Carranza, was not in Torreón where he might see the peril, nor in the capital, where General Obregón maintained an attitude of cold reserve, which could easily have been turned to open rebellion. This would certainly have been supported by the radical and discontented deputies who had now raised the banner of reforms. The peril was clear and in order to confront it the First Chief authorized Señor Rouaix that he should proceed with those reforms which seemed to him most prudent, to which Carranza promised his approval." Molina Enriquez, *Historia de la Revolución Agraria de México*, V, 176-176.

Múgica, chairman of the Committee on Constitutional Reforms, to present the Committee proposals dealing with agrarian reforms.⁴⁴

As Governor of Durango he had issued the first agrarian law of the Revolution, giving lands to the villages from the neighboring haciendas. Deputy Rouaix decided to hold general informal discussions, for all who were interested in agrarian reforms, on the basis of which proposals could be made to the Committee. These discussions were held in the mornings during the second and third weeks of January, 1917 in the chapel of the "ex-episcopal palace" occupied by Deputy Rouaix during his stay at Queretaro as a Deputy of the Congress.⁴⁵

Sr. Rouaix says of the request to prepare proposed agrarian reforms,

I assumed this task with pleasure and enthusiasm more because my dearest ambitions and desires were bound up with this subject, than because I considered myself more fitted to give correct form to Article 27 because of my experience . . .⁴⁶

At these informal morning discussions . . . "there were no presiding officers, nor regulation of debates, nor votes, for Sr. Rouaix wished, very wisely, that nothing should hinder the free expression of ideas and opinions . . ."⁴⁷ No official record of these proceedings was kept, but all members of the Congress who were interested attended and presented suggestions and opinions. The most noteworthy non-members who participated in these discussions were Sr. Molina Enríquez, the great Mexican reformer and scholar, at that time a member of the National Agrarian Commission and General José Innocente Lugo, Chief of the Department of Labor in Sr. Rouaix's own Ministry.⁴⁸ The report of this informal junta was presented to the Committee on January 24, 1917, signed by 18 Depu-

⁴⁴Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 319-320.

⁴⁵Pastor Rouaix was not only a Deputy from the State of Pueblo, he was also ex-Governor of the State of Durango and Constitutionalist Minister of Development, Colonization and Industry, temporarily on leave from the latter post to attend the Congress.

Palavicini requested Pastor Rouaix to make a statement concerning the formulation of Article 27. This statement is included in Palavicini's book. *Ibid.* I, 603-611; Tannebaum, *Peace by Revolution*, Pp. 191-201; *Diario de Debates*, II, 771-772.

⁴⁶Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 607.

⁴⁷Molina Enríquez, *Historia de la Revolución Agraria de México*, V, 177.

⁴⁸Deputy Rouaix gave particular credit to Deputies José Macías, Julian Adame, Pastrana Jaimes, Alberto Terrones Benítez, Rafael L. de los Rios, Silverstre Dorador, Antonio Gutiérrez, Porfirio del Castillo, General José Álvarez, Pedro A. Chapa, Federico E. Ibarra and Dionisio Zavala among the members of the Congress for their contributions to the project of the junta over which he presided. Sr. Molina Enríquez and General Lugo were the two outstanding non-members mentioned.

"I consider the collaboration of Sr. Molina Enríquez with us of great importance because of his general culture and because of the profound studies which he had made concerning property and agricultural matters and I requested him to formulate a

ties, including Sr. Rouaix.⁴⁰ The version given by Molina Enríquez is that as soon as the provisions of Carranza's project became known to him he called a meeting of the Agrarian Commission at which he suggested alterations and additions were agreed upon. He then took the first train to Querétaro to bring these to the attention of Sr. Rouaix, who, as Minister of Fomento was ex-officio President of the Commission. When he first arrived in Querétaro the time was not ripe for the consideration of basic agricultural and labor reforms. Late in December Carranza apparently became convinced that he must withdraw opposition to further reforms to avoid open rupture in the Constitutionalist ranks.⁴¹ Pastor Rouaix was playing the role of liason agent between the First Chief and the Assembly, urging caution on the Assembly and haste on Carranza and enjoying the confidence of both. Under these circumstances and with the facilities of the Ministry of Fomento at his service it was natural that he should be requested by both the Assembly and the First Chief to prepare proposed reforms. This was the point at which he undertook the informal sessions already mentioned, assigning the preparation of proposals for agricultural reforms to Molina Enríquez and of labor reforms to José Lugo, who was

rough draft of the constitutional article, which would serve us as a guide for future discussions."

Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 607.

⁴¹ Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 620

⁴⁰ Molina Enríquez clearly indicates his belief that additional reforms were forced upon Carranza by fear of an open break with Obregon and his followers. Pastor Rouaix tends to discount this interpretation, pointing out that Jose Macias, the author of Carranza's project was one of the most active members in the discussion and development the Article 27, despite the fact that his membership in the Congress was vigorously opposed by the Obregon radicals. Sr. Rouaix further states that he personally reported to Carranza on the progress and the provisions of the reform articles and that Carranza restricted himself to very brief comments and questions, that he expressed no excitement or opposition and that he treated Sr. Rouaix as a representative of the people who had the right to express and support his own opinions.

Molina Enríquez, *Historia de la Revolución Agraria de México*, V, 174-176; Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 610.

Critics of Carranza might surmise, not without historical justification, that his attitude of indifference was doubtless due to his determination to ignore these radical constitutional provisions once the Querétaro Congress was adjourned.

Lincoln Steffens says that although he would be proud to assume responsibility for the authorship of Article 27, for which he was widely blamed at the time by his American critics, he can truthfully lay no such claim to fame. Lincoln Steffens, *Autobiography*, pp. 729-730.

While the Constitutional Government was located in Vera Cruz Palavicini, as Minister of Education, set up a Section of Social Legislation. He claims credit to this Agency for many proposals which were later incorporated in Article 27 and 123 of the Constitution. Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 19-20, 143-144; Felix F. Palavicini, "Qual fue el Origen de la Constitución de 1917," *Todo*, Jan. 4, 1936, cited in de la Cueva, *Derecho Mexicano del Trabajo*, p. 113.

called from the capital for that purpose.

"Señor Rouaix thought the opportunity had arrived to fulfill his desire to go to the foundation of the agrarian question and charged me with formulating the disposition relative to this subject which should be included in the Constitution. I set myself to accomplish this task rapidly and all one Sunday, which I regard as memorable, there met with Señor Rouaix in the chapel of the Episcopal Palace in Querétaro many revolutionary deputies and in their presence after a brief exposition which I made concerning the general nature of the problem I read the first project of Article 27 of the Constitution."⁸⁰

The first rough draft of Article 27 prepared by Molina Enríquez contained only principles and general provisions, but the Deputies preferred precise and extensive provisions.

It was necessary, therefore, to do it in this manner and this was accomplished in the morning sessions where impressions were exchanged even though in these sessions there were deputies who having attended once did not return until after the passage of three or four sessions and in their place came others who had not previously attended and there were no presiding officers, no regulation of debate, nor votes because Sr. Rouaix wished, very wisely, that nobody should be restricted in the free expression of ideas and opinions, so that the discussions took on at times the character of a veritable tumult, requiring much work to reduce the points to organized proposals. From a whirl of words and in whirlwind of discussions and broken phrases, reaching at times even the point of violence, were seized the concrete formulas of which the Article was composed.⁸¹

The committee completed its work on the project presented by Sr. Rouaix and submitted its draft for Article 27 to the Congress on Monday, January 29, 1917. The project presented to the Congress by the Committee differed from that of Sr. Rouaix mainly in wording and arrangement and in the fact that it was somewhat more extensive. The project of the junta therefore contained all the essential elements of Article 27 as it was finally incorporated into the Constitution. The Congress proceeded immediately to the discussion of the report of the Committee. About 30 Deputies in all took part in these discussions which cover some 50 pages in the *Diary of Debates*. Despite the active part in which he had taken in the drafting of the Article, Deputy Rouaix spoke only very briefly

⁸⁰ Molina Enríquez, *Historia de la Revolución Agraria de México*, V, 176.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, Molina Enríquez, *Historia de la Revolución Agraria de Mexico*, V, 177.

"... it was left to me to write the explanatory comments with which it would be sent to the Chamber. A duty which I fulfilled, these remarks being entirely mine, except the final paragraph which was written by Señor Rouaix." *Ibid.*, V, 177.

The full text of these explanatory comments is found in Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 611-615.

The final paragraph mentioned above reads as follows:

"It remains only to note that in this work we have been effectively assisted by señor licenciado Andrés Molina Enríquez, consulting lawyer for the National Agrarian Commission and by señor Jose I. Lugo, Chief of the Office of Labor in the Ministry of Fomento." *Ibid.*, I 615.

to answer a few questions. A number of the speakers discussed their personal revolutionary experiences at some length and were considerably heckled by the Assembly. At the end of these debates, only a portion of which dealt with fundamental problems, the Article was adopted by the Assembly.²² Section II, which dealt with property rights of religious corporations, was voted on first and adopted by a vote of 88 to 62. The main objection was that this subject had been adequately covered elsewhere. The remainder of the Article was adopted by a vote of 150-0.²³

With the adoption of Article 27 on the evening of Monday, January 29, 1917, the Congress virtually concluded its constitution-making labors. The truly revolutionary provisions of the 1917 Constitution, all the work of the Assembly itself, were all adopted. The Congress held its concluding session on the afternoon of Wednesday, January 31. The Deputies took the oath of allegiance to the new Constitution in the presence of the First Chief and other high dignitaries. Luis Manuel Rojas, President of the Congress, made a speech presenting the Constitution to the First Chief as the work of the Assembly.

If in some points it (The Assembly) has gone a little beyond what your wisdom has indicated as a middle ground, just and prudent in the view of recognized national tendencies, the enthusiasm of youth, which has followed the glorious banner unfurled by you in Guadalupe, its revolutionary enthusiasm after the struggle, and its natural fondness for breaking old social molds, reacting thus against the inveterate vices of the past, explains sufficiently the true motives cherished in the bosom of the Assembly, so that it may have departed a little from the serene and perfectly justified course which you had traced for us. On the other hand the great majority of the deputies of the Constitutional (Congress) of Queretaro, have always shared with you a community of ideas and aspirations in favor of the Mexican people, ideas of

²²Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 623-675.

"The session in which Article 27 was approved commenced shortly after three in the afternoon and terminated at three thirty in the morning without any interruption except that necessary for the deputies to secure something to eat. In the hall there was no light. I do not know what was the pretext for shutting off the lights, shortly after midnight, in the theater in which the sessions were held. Two candelabras with five candles of wax or paraffin lighted the President's table and one candelabra with the same number of candles lighted the table of each one of the two committees. The small amount of light scarcely dispelled the darkness of the hall."

"A thousand incidents delayed the discussions and the voting . . . There were orators for and against and Señor Colunga fought them vigorously. The fatigue was immense. The voting took place at three in the morning. The right resisted throughout. The first fifteen votes were negative. The first affirmative vote was that of deputy Gifford of Vera Cruz, a mulatto by race, and the second was that of Lic. Colonel Enrique Enriquez of the state of Mexico. These first two affirmative votes were received with applause. In the official record subsequently published Article 27 appears approved by unanimous vote. Oh, these Creoles!"

Molina Enríquez, *Historia de la Revolución Agraria de México*, V, 178-179.

²³Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 675; *Diario de Debates*, II, 821

which you are justly and the most high personification, as the Supreme Chief of the Constitutionalist Revolution.⁸⁴

Carranza replied in equally general and flowery sentiments.

Whatever may be the defects of this work, to which you give happy conclusion (días cima) in these moments, either because of deficiency or excess, there is in it a pledge which will assure, for the future, its stability, that it may be the genuine expression of the secular necessities and consequently of the innate desires of the nation. It will not be seen later as a dream difficult and impossible of realization, but something that easily enters into the national usages and customs, to form public spirit and a grand conception of the Fatherland, for the practice of democratic institutions, which elevating all the sons of the country, will bind them tightly in the indissoluble bonds of sentiment and solidarity in action and in force to seek the common welfare.⁸⁵

Carranza then promulgated the Constitution to the Republic February 5 and it became effective May 1, 1917.

The constitutional product of the Querétaro Congress is lengthy and includes extensive statutory details. It offends against John Marshall's famous dictum in *McCulloch v. Maryland* that a constitution should restrict itself to general principles and not assume the prolixity of a legal code. These extensive and advanced social regulations make it unusual among written constitutions. The members of the Congress were not entirely unaware of this innovation in constitution-making. Deputy Froylan Manjarrez, of Pueblo, in the discussion of Article 5 on December 26, probably expressed the sentiments of the Assembly not only on the subject of regulation of labor, but on all social regulations considered for inclusion in the Constitution, in his remarks toward the end of the debate.

I think that our Magna Carta should be more explicit on this point (labor), and precisely because it should be so, we should dedicate all our attention, if necessary, not merely to one article, not one addition, but to a whole chapter of the Magna Carta. I do not think . . . that this can be done when regulatory laws are passed, when this or that benefit is established for the laborers; no, gentlemen, who can guarantee us that a new Congress will be made up of revolutionaries? . . . Who can guarantee us, I say, that this general Congress will have to legislate and have to work in accord with our ideas. No, gentlemen, it is of no importance to me whether this constitution does or does not follow the models provided by jurisconsults, . . . what is important to me is that sufficient guarantees should be given to the laborers, it is important to me that we should duly attend to the demands of these men who rose in the armed struggle and who are the ones who deserve most that we should seek their well-being and let us not worry about whether due to errors of form the Constitution appears slightly malformed; let us not concern ourselves with these trivialities, let us go to the root of the question; let us introduce all those reforms which are necessary to labor⁸⁶

⁸⁴Melagarejo and Rojas, *El Congreso Constituyente de 1916 y 1917*, p. 739; Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, II, 612; *Diario de Debates*, 846-847.

⁸⁵Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, II, 614; Melagarejo and Rojas, *El Congreso Constituyentes de 1916 y 1917*, p. 741; *Diario de Debates*, II, 847.

⁸⁶Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 290-291; *Diario de Debates*, I, 689

Looking back from February, 1917, it should have been possible to forecast that the Querétaro Congress would adopt agrarian reforms, anti-foreign and anti-clerical measures and labor reforms. The extent and radical nature of the reforms could hardly have been foreseen because these characteristics developed out of the Congress itself and the influences brought to bear upon it by the concurrent stage of development of the Mexican Revolution. This conclusion makes the frequently repeated accusations of revolutionary extremism and even Bolshevik nature of the Congress and the Constitution appear in a different light. In fact, no single set of economic and social theories was either systematically advanced or urged upon the Assembly. The Manchester or laissez faire school of economics was denounced in about three speeches. Karl Marx was mentioned on one occasion in connection with one explanation of the labor theory of value.⁵⁷ A few speeches contained germs of ideas championed by Marx, but they were not developed beyond the point where they might equally have been attributed to Ricardo or Mill. One member, Professor Luis G. Monzón of Sonora, is mentioned as having subsequently affiliated himself with the Communist Party. Only a few members are mentioned as being laborers or representatives of organized labor groups, none of whom seem to have had any important influence on the Congress or its work.⁵⁸

After several months of traveling with Carranza, Lincoln Steffens observed "The trouble with Carranza as a revolutionary leader was that he had no economics." Another American newspaper man, of considerable experience, who also was personally acquainted with Carranza found that the single tax theories of Henry George were the only economic theories with which the First Chief was familiar.⁵⁹ Deputy Pastor Rouaix probably spoke for the great majority of the members of Congress when he said

The data which I had collected and the observations which I had gathered had forced upon me the practical knowledge of the stupendous disequilibrium in which the Mexican Nation lived, and as I have said, I became a revolutionary many years before the outbreak of the armed movement; having read solely the great book offered

⁵⁷Deputy Macias in the discussion of his proposed law on labor contracts, *Diario de Debates*, I, 728.

⁵⁸Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 163; Melgarejo and Rojas, *El Congreso Constituyente de 1916 y 1917*, p. 545.

Deputies Gracías of Vera Cruz, who was a linotypist, and Enrique Recio and Victoria of Yucatán were frequently spoken of as laborers. None of these had very much to say in the debates and their remarks were frequently poorly organized and suggestions not very practical. Only Enrique Recio was a member of an important committee and Palavicini says of him "In regard to Enrique Recio, he was a yucatacan laborer, perfectly ignorant and an exalted anti-clerical, naturally his ability, to appreciate the great charge he had been given, was null." *Ibid.*, I, 163. "There were but two direct representatives of the working class present, Nicolas Cano and Carlos L. Gracías, neither one of whom took an active part in the convention." Clark, *Organized Labor in Mexico*, p. 48.

by the State of Durango. All the Constitutional Deputies had received similar teachings who had come from the humble or middle classes of the provinces which they represented and consequently all came imbued with the conviction that an absolute transformation of the social organization was indispensable in order that the Mexican Nation might enter upon the path of progress across the field of justice and liberty.⁶⁰

Señor Rouaix indicated by these remarks his conclusion that the Mexican Constitution of 1917 and the Revolution which produced it were largely the result of domestic historical influences. The revolutionary forces which dominated Mexico at this time were endemic rather than epidemic.

Captain Francis McCullagh, *Red Mexico, A Reign of Terror in America* (New York, 1928) and Vera-Estáñol, *Carranza and His Bolshevik Regime* (Los Angeles, Cal., 1920) emphasizes the radical and revolutionary aspects of the Constitutionalist movement from the clerical and conservative point of view.

Silva Herzog is undoubtedly correct in rejecting the charge that Molina Enriquez was a communist; describing him as an independent humanitarian. Jesus Silva Herzog, *El Pensamiento Económico en México* (Mexico, 1947), pp. 154-159.

⁶⁰Lincoln Steffens, *Autobiography*, p. 732; Joseph de Courcy, "An Intimate View of Carranza, Ruler of Mexico," *New York Times Magazine*, Sept. 10, 1916.

Gruening's estimate of Carranza is similar. "Out of the chaos the leadership fell to Venustiano Carranza. For fourteen years he had been one of Diaz' hand-picked senators. In all this time he had shown no awareness of Mexico's pressing problems. He obeyed the dictator's slightest indication and rubber-stamped porfirian policies with his every vote. He was carried forward and upward on the tide of circumstance—the rising unmanageable groundswell of the revolt. It swept him into power and when he failed to swim with it, it swept him out of power and to death."

Gruening, *Mexico and Its Heritage*, p. 96.

⁶¹Palavicini, *Historia de la Constitución de 1917*, I, 604.

Molina Enriquez made a similar estimation of the situation in evaluating the elections to the Constitutional Congress. "If these elections did not represent altogether a great triumph of effective suffrage, they did represent the transformation effected by the Revolution."

Molina Enriquez, *Historia de la Revolución Agraria de México*, V, 168.

Legislative Services in the British Parliament

JACK A. RHODES

Oklahoma Legislative Council

British constitutional practice has evolved a series of fact-finding and advisory techniques to assist the Parliament in the performance of its duties. Legislative services have become an integral function of the parliamentary system. The effectiveness of these services has been enhanced by the absence of a division of powers so fundamental in the American concept of government. Since the supremacy of responsible cabinet government, the combined technical and advisory aids of the executive and legislative branches have been at the disposal of British lawmakers. At the present time a member of Parliament is surrounded by a veritable network of legislative services, ranging from the time-honored Royal Commission of Inquiry to more recent services, such as bill-drafting, library services, departmental and inter-departmental advisory committees and a number of other technical facilities for research. These are the legislative aids which only recently became available to American legislators.

One of the striking developments in recent British practice has been the growing use of departmental advisory committees to assist the Parliament and the changing role of the Royal Commission of Inquiry.

This discussion will attempt only to outline the major legislative services to the Parliament, emphasizing the Royal Commission of Inquiry as a technique in fact-finding and policy determination.

Major Legislative Services

In outline, the major legislative services to the Parliament include:

(1) Royal Commissions of Inquiry, (2) Bill drafting by the Parliamentary Counsel to the Treasury, (3) Library and reference services, (4) Departmental and inter-departmental committees, (5) Departmental advisory bodies, (6) Departmental technical committees.

Royal Commissions of Inquiry

Although Royal Commissions of Inquiry, like many common law precedents, date back to the time "when the memory of man runneth not to the contrary," their significant role as an aid to the Parliament began in the heyday of the Benthamite theory of utility, with its emphasis upon fact-finding as a basis for legislation.

The great social reforms of the 1830's were preceded by the extensive

*Based on address before the Legislative Service Conference, Third Annual Meeting, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

use of Royal Commissions of Inquiry. Earlier, these Commissions were a popular method of executive investigations. Since the supremacy of cabinet government in England they have been widely used as an effective legislative service to the Parliament.

The Royal Commission of Inquiry, although now an agency of the Parliament, is created by Royal Warrant under the Royal Sign Manual. Although, technically, the Warrant is issued by Her Majesty, the action comes only upon the advice of the cabinet, which, in effect, means the majority party of the House of Commons.

Use of Royal Commissions

Today the Royal Commission is used largely: (a) to prepare the way for a pre-determined policy; (b) to find the most politically feasible solution to a problem facing the Government; (c) to supply factual information on legislative problems for which the Government has an open mind and is seriously seeking a solution; (d) to shift to a representative body the task of solving broad economic and social controversies; (e) to meet an emergency crisis requiring immediate action; (f) to forestall public criticism which would result from inaction on the part of the Government of the day; (g) to postpone consideration of questions which would be embarrassing to the Government.

One of the most compelling reasons for creating Royal Commissions is to save parliamentary time, which has also been an impetus to the creation of Legislative Councils. Occasionally, the political parties promise the creation of a Royal Commission in the party platform, and if a majority of the party is returned to the House of Commons this promise is carried out. In the general election of 1950, the Liberal Party platform included a provision for a Royal Commission on the electoral system.

Terms of Reference

The most important section of the Royal Warrant of Appointment is the terms of reference, defining the task for which the Commission has been created. A careful analysis of the terms of reference will indicate the reasons which prompted the Government to appoint a Royal Commission. Terms of reference may be specific or they may be so general as to preclude constructive recommendations. If purely partisan motives are the basic reason for the creation of a Commission, the reference may be vague and even contradictory. This is regarded as the key to the purpose for which the Commission came into being and its probable success may be pre-judged therefrom. Specific and clearly defined problems, relatively free from popular prejudice, with a request for recommendations, usually indicate a serious attitude on the part of the Government. With terms of reference embodying these features, the Royal Commission has its best

opportunity to serve the Parliament as an aid in fact-finding and policy decisions.

One of the first tasks of a Royal Commission is to analyze its terms of reference to determine the scope of its task. These terms of reference correspond generally to proposals submitted to our Legislative Councils for study.

Status of Royal Commissions

Once appointed, the Commission continues until its report is submitted, unless the terms of reference provide a time limit. Usually no time limit is provided and the Commission functions until the chairman or a majority of the Commission decides it has gone on long enough. The Royal Warrant almost invariably instructs the Commission to report "with as little delay as possible." Since Commissioners are contributing their time and energy without remuneration, they are not anxious to prolong their work. In practice the life of Commissions has ranged from three months to five or six years, the average being about two years. One Commission, created in 1918, has never submitted a final report. Like A. P. Herbert's hypothetical "Royal Commission on Kissing" these studies may often "take a long, long time."

Royal Commissions enjoy an almost independent status, comparable in many ways to that of a regular ministry. The only effective limitations are the financial controls exercised by the Treasury. There is little evidence to indicate that the Government creating a Commission exerts undue influence in its deliberations, reports, or recommendations. The language of the terms of reference, the initial selection of Commission members and the reception given the final report and recommendations are the important controls exercised by the political party responsible for a Commission. There have been only a few instances where Commission members unfriendly to the party appointing the Commission have been replaced.

Royal Commissions do not have the power to compel attendance of witnesses, to give oaths, or demand the production of documents. In practice, this lack of authority is no serious handicap to the Commission's work, since Parliament may give that authority under the Tribunals of Inquiry Act of 1921.

Personnel

Commission members are appointed by the majority party, acting through Her Majesty's Cabinet, but it is certainly true to say that party affiliation is one of the most minor considerations in the selection of Commissioners. Ability and expert knowledge, as well as leadership of professional, economic and social groups within the country, are more compelling considerations.

Commission appointments are neither ratified nor terminated by the Parliament. In theory an executive agency, parliamentary control of Royal Commissions arises indirectly from the majority party's domination of Her Majesty's Cabinet.

A few Commissions, such as the Commission on Honours and the Indian Statutory Commission, have been composed exclusively of members of Parliament. The more common practice is to include, in addition to members of Parliament, outside experts, those representing economic and social interests of the country, and representatives of the various geographical areas. The terms of reference of each Commission will determine the important factors in the selection of personnel. In some cases, for example, it is highly important that both men and women be appointed to a Commission. The number of members will depend largely upon the purpose for which the Commission was created. If the Government desires highly technical information or is attempting to adjudicate a controversy through the use of a Royal Commission, the membership will be small. If, however, the Government desires to sound out public thinking, the membership will be much larger. Commissions may be small in size and composed of experts in the field of inquiry or large and representative of the various interests concerned. The more common practice is to blend these two elements in an attempt to avoid either extreme.

The "expert" type Commission will have a membership from three to five; the "representative" Commission has a membership ranging from ten to twenty or even larger. "Representative" type Commissions will recognize politics, sex, professions, religion, economic and social groups and geographical areas. Membership on "expert" type Commissions is usually determined almost exclusively on the basis of knowledge in the given field of inquiry. In view of the growing use of departmental committees, the expert element, which formerly predominated, is now relatively less important in Commission membership.

There is every indication that persons appointed to Royal Commissions take their work seriously, which is somewhat difficult for an American observer to appreciate fully; especially in view of the fact that Commission members are unpaid, except for a small travel allowance, and must sacrifice both time and money. The elite theory with its appeal to the governing class concept, which lingers on in English society, makes appointment to a Commission a coveted position. Any number of persons with whom I talked were quite frank in saying that, even though they were very busy, they would welcome the sacrifice in time and money to serve on a Royal Commission.

The Chairman of the Commission is named in the Warrant of Appointment and will usually be a person who commands respect from both the Government and the public generally and is noted for his impartiality. The

key to a successful Commission is often the calibre and character of the Chairman, usually a person of outstanding ability.

The Secretary, whose duties are largely executive and correspond generally to those of Legislative Council directors in our state governments, is either named in the Royal Warrant, chosen by the ministry most concerned, or selected by the Commission itself. Commission secretaries are quite often permanent officials of the Civil Service on loan to the Commission. The Secretary serves in the role of administrative assistant in arranging for meetings, compiling and analyzing evidence and statements presented and in preparing the preliminary agenda for meetings. Except for policy decisions and recommendations, a large amount of the work in preparing the final report is done by the Secretary. There is considerable evidence that most of the reports have been written by the Secretary, but only after the broad outline has been approved by at least a majority of the Commission. In a few instances, both the report and the recommendations have been left almost exclusively to the Secretary.

A limited number of Commissions have employed outside experts whose impartiality was not open to question. In at least one instance a Commission member (Beatrice Webb) employed experts privately to secure factual data for the inquiry.

The point I should like to emphasize concerning Commission membership is the effective technique employed in tapping and utilizing expert knowledge in the many fields which require action by the Parliament. In comparing the Royal Commission with American legislative councils, the suggestion occurs that our council programs might be more effective if non-legislative experts in the given field of inquiry were included as advisory members. Although most councils adopt this procedure to a limited extent, they are missing a golden opportunity by not mobilizing more fully the expert knowledge which is at hand in every state in the Union.

Procedure of Commissions

The rules of procedure are determined freely by each Commission, although a striking degree of continuity will be observed from one Commission to another. As Todd observed: "Within the limits of their prescribed functions, and subject to the provisions of any act of Parliament defining the same, commissions have absolute power of regulating the proceedings of their own tribunal, and of admitting or excluding those persons they please from attendance during their sittings."¹

The Balfour Committee Report on the Procedure of Royal Commissions (1910) recommended standing rules from Commission to Commission, with a permanent Secretariat to preserve important evidence, exhibits and

¹Todd, A., *Parliamentary Government*, (London, 1892) Vol. II, p. 100

other materials which are now scattered to the four winds when a Commission reports. On this point, our Legislative Councils have a distinct advantage over the structure of Royal Commissions.

Royal Commissions usually begin their work by inviting interested persons and organizations to submit written evidence. In a short time the Commission is overburdened by evidence; Commission members and the Secretary, usually the latter, then begin the task of carefully selecting the evidence and factual data which leads to significant conclusions.

Here again is a practice which might be followed with profit by our own Councils—that is, relying more heavily upon written statements in advance of meetings. The written statement, termed the evidence-in-chief, is a device for screening prospective witnesses who desire to appear before the Commission. This eliminates witnesses who would otherwise appear before the Commission and consume time in presenting data of questionable accuracy. Without the written statement in advance, witnesses would often appear and present factual information not relevant to the subject of the inquiry and leading to no significant conclusions.

The advance written statement gives the Commission an opportunity to discuss the evidence presented and to prepare questions before the oral examination of witnesses, thus eliminating many of the frivolous, irrelevant and time-consuming questions which would otherwise be asked in the oral hearing. In the case of "representative" type Commissions the written statement puts the various pressure groups on record, giving the Parliament an indication of public thinking. This, too, might become a more important service of our Legislative Councils for State Legislatures.

In its own discretion the Commission invites persons, whose written statements it regards as helpful, to appear for oral testimony. On a few occasions Americans have been invited to present information to Royal Commissions.

The Commission decides whether meetings will be open to the public but, since one of its purposes is often to attract public attention, meetings are almost invariably open.

Beginning with the Chairman, every member has an opportunity to cross-examine each witness. Although the type of questions asked is not limited, they are confined almost exclusively to data and opinion submitted in the written statement. From this cross-examination technique the Commission often arrives at significant conclusions. Only Commission members are permitted to question the witness.

In addition to the written statements and oral evidence, which are the fundamental techniques used by the Commission, occasionally the questionnaire method is employed. Several Royal Commissions, on their own initiative, have prepared questionnaires and distributed them broadly, not only to individuals and organizations in England, but all over the world. For example, in its study of England's declining population, the Royal

Commission used the questionnaire approach and contacted hundreds of individuals to learn why the average size of the family is smaller than in previous years. The results of this questionnaire have been analyzed and placed at the disposal of the members of the Parliament. In addition to supplying valuable statistical data, it has given the British lawmaker an indication of the type of legislation which the British public will welcome in solving this highly important, long-range problem of a declining population.

Another technique in fact-finding and investigations has been the use of special investigators and highly technical personnel to analyze specific phases of the study being undertaken. Similar to our Legislative Council procedure, all reports and analyses by the technical staff are studied by the membership of the Commission before being included in the report to the Government.

One of the obvious techniques, which is often overlooked, is that of informal contacts in securing factual information. Perhaps the best illustration of this is the great amount of information which was passed along in an informal way to Chairman Beveridge of the Royal Commission on Coal in 1925. During that study one of the more liberal colliery owners, and one who apparently had a grievance against other coal owners, gave very confidential information to Chairman Beveridge. This information included the profits of the coal companies, the practices used, and especially those relating to labor policy. As a result, the Commission was in a position to ask very pertinent questions which contributed materially to the effectiveness of its report to the Government.

Press reception of Royal Commission meetings is unusually favorable in England. Often there are as many reporters present as Commission members and their role is fully appreciated by all concerned. Almost every meeting receives front page recognition and brings forth a series of editorials ranging from those in the popular press to the so-called "quality" papers such as the *London Times*, the *Sunday Observer*, and the *Manchester Guardian*.

This broad discussion of information serves the important functions of focusing attention upon major problems facing the Government, aids in crystallizing public opinion and gauges public thinking for the benefit of the Parliament. For the many policy decisions heavily charged with opinion and prejudice this function is an important service to the Parliament.

Reports of Commissions

The oral testimony is recorded verbatim and copies are available from Her Majesty's Stationery office within a few weeks after each meeting. Like Hansard, this information has a popular appeal among the rank and file of the British public.

When the time limit for the Commission expires or the Chairman and members decide sufficient information has been obtained, preparations are made for drawing up the final report and recommendations. The Secretary is instructed to prepare a summary of evidence and factual information. This summary is then circulated among members of the Commission who attempt to reach areas of agreement for recommendations. If fundamental differences arise, a minority and several individual reports may be written in addition to the majority report. Opinions differ among students of the subject as to whether pressure should be brought to bear for a unanimous report. Minority reports have on occasions produced much more fruitful results than the majority report. Beatrice Webb's Minority Report on the Poor Law Commission is the classic example. While the majority report went largely unheeded, many recommendations of the Webb Report became law.

Technically, the Royal Commission submits its report to Her Majesty's Government. In practice, serious criticism results unless the report is made readily available to members of the Parliament. When the Commission submits the final report it no longer continues its existence. It is not unprecedented in British experience to appoint another Royal Commission on the same subject after a lapse of 15 or 20 years. For example, the Royal Commission on Gambling and Betting in 1932-33 was followed by a Commission on the same subject in 1948.

Effectiveness of Royal Commission Reports

It is extremely difficult to analyze the effectiveness of Royal Commission Reports. In the case of some Commissions, particularly the earlier ones, many of the recommendations became law almost as submitted. The great social and economic reforms of the 1830's were preceded by extensive research carried on by Royal Commissions. In later years the trend has been for a time lag of from 10 to 20 years before Parliament takes serious action on Royal Commission recommendations. If a given Commission has been appointed for purely political purposes, the report and recommendations may be expected to produce no tangible results.

Whether the Royal Commission or another legislative service agency is given the task, the importance of fact-finding and investigation is clearly recognized in the British parliamentary system. As one student of the subject pointed out, "nearly every important measure of reform has been preceded by an inquiry by a Royal Commission or a Parliamentary Committee or a Departmental Committee or by independent ministers."²

²E. Troup, *The Home Office* (London, 1925), p. 38.

Departmental Committees

In passing I want to call attention to the growing reliance upon departmental and inter-departmental advisory committees as legislative service aids to the Parliament. This is one of the most striking developments in Parliamentary practice since 1919.

Royal Commissions and Departmental Committees are similar in many of the techniques and methods used. The line between these two legislative aids is not sharply defined. The considerations, which lead to the appointment of a Royal Commission rather than a Departmental Committee, are much more accidental than substantial.

The important difference is that Departmental Committees are the administrative creation of a particular ministry, appointed by the minister, and may be suspended by a succeeding Government. Royal Commissions are created by the cabinet and have an independent existence until the time limit fixed in the warrant expires or the Commission decides to prepare and submit its final report.

Departmental Committees usually hold private sessions and study problems of a more or less technical or administrative type. Royal Commissions, almost without exception, hold open sessions, and their subject matter more often than not is of general interest and requires that public attention be focused on the proceedings. Departmental Committees are not bound to keep or publish minutes of evidence and often make no formal report. Membership on the Committees is usually dominated by civil servants with a few outside experts. Commission membership is divided between members of Parliament and outside experts, very seldom including civil servants.

Future Role of the Royal Commission

The increased use of Departmental Committees and the decline in the number of Royal Commissions should not be interpreted as reflecting discredit on the Royal Commission as an aid to the Parliament. An analysis of British legislative services seems to indicate that the role of the Royal Commission is shifting from the fact-finding type, at least for research on more or less specific problems, to that of pioneering the way for social and economic advances in a broad field of inquiry affecting the entire nation. The Royal Commissions on Population and Industrial Location are examples of this type of Commission. The Royal Commission of Inquiry will probably continue to be used with increasing frequency for calling public attention to problems facing the Government, to inform the public and Parliament on important issues through the use of public hearings, to gauge public thinking as an aid to the Parliament and, in general, to pioneer the way for serious consideration on far-reaching social and economic policies. In addition, there is no indication that the purely political uses for the Royal Commission will

decline. The present trend is, however, to rely more and more upon Departmental Committees for purely technical information and fact-finding and for advisory opinions on problems of immediate day-to-day concern.

Most students of the Royal Commission of Inquiry recognize its changing role as a legislative service aid; few believe that this technique will be eclipsed by the rapid growth of Departmental Committees.

Shell, a Marine Resource of the Texas Coast

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Deposits of sulphur, petroleum, natural gas and salt, plus tidewater access, and a central location with reference to domestic and foreign markets, have been boons to the phenomenal growth of industry along the Texas Gulf Coast. However, one significant but frequently unmentioned asset is oyster shell or "mud shell", as it is known locally. The term "oyster shell" is generally correct, only a small percentage of other crustacea being present. The term "mud shell" came into use with the beginning of this dredging industry, because shell and mud were loaded together; the mud forms a natural binder for the shell when used for road building.

Geologists believe that reefs of mud shell began to build up during the Ice Age; accumulations reached known thicknesses as great as 25 feet and up to several miles in length. The reefs are seldom found more than eight or nine feet below water level, although some workable deposits are 30 feet below the surface. Deposits are distributed along the Texas coast from the Louisiana border to the Corpus Christi area. The largest and most extensively worked reefs are those of Galveston Bay. About 75 per cent of the dredged shell comes from Galveston and Matagorda Bays. Operations in Nueces Bay, San Antonio Bay and in the Sabine Lake area are much smaller in scope. There are no large accumulations of shell south of the lower Nueces Basin. Officials of the Texas Game, Fish and Oyster Commission believe that water currents or water temperatures may be responsible for this situation. Lack of shell in this southern area is further substantiated by the fact that excavations on shore reveal only minor use of shell by the primitive people who resided in the region between Corpus Christi and Brownsville.

The Attacapans who lived in the lower Sabine area are known to have used crushed shell on the floor of their dwellings, and to have utilized some types of oyster shells in fashioning tools. Prior to the early 1900's, however, most coastal residents relegated these marine accumulations to the nuisance category rather than to the resource classification. Today, most large Gulf industries use shell as a raw material in one or more of their manufacturing processes.

Commercial use of shell is believed to have begun in Galveston in the 1880's and 1890's when some residents of the island employed it as a filler in roofing material much as pea gravel is used today. In the early 1900's, it came into use as a base for the paving of streets and roads. Demand for shell as a road-bed stabilizer mounted as roads and highways were built in the coastal section of Texas. Enormous quantities of shell have been utilized in railroad construction along this swampy coast. The six-lane high-



way between Houston and Galveston, for example, has a mud shell base 18 inches thick. Shell is well suited for this purpose because it permits contraction and expansion with little cracking of concrete. It is used for flexible-base roads, and as a coarse aggregate in concrete paving.

In 1916, the plant of the Lone Star Cement Company situated on the Houston Ship Channel, began using shell as a raw material for manufacturing Portland cement. Now, several plants, three in Houston and one in Corpus Christi, use mud shell as a basic ingredient in producing approximately 20 million barrels of cement annually. This material is used in many types of construction work in Texas and other areas. Cement manufactu-

rers along the Texas coast believe that shell is superior to ordinary limestone as a raw material because the former is composed of 98 to 99 per cent calcium carbonate. Most limestone averages approximately 96 per cent calcium carbonate.

The method of processing Portland cement from shell is somewhat different from the methods followed where either blast furnace slag or quarried stone is used as the basic raw material. The Halliburton Cement Company's plant in Corpus Christi is the newest and most modern mill on the coast. At this plant, shell is first sent to the "raw mill" where, together with other raw materials, it is smashed to a fine powder and water is added. The resulting thick liquid, called "slurry," is then fed by underground pipes into a huge tank, where a slowly revolving arm keeps the material from settling. One revolution of this arm takes 45 minutes. Next, the liquid is mixed in a huge blending tank with varying amounts of iron ore, bauxite and finely ground clay. From the blending tank, the slurry is fed into a kiln where it is heated by natural gas to a temperature of 2700° F. Clinkers, in the form of small pellets, result from the heating of the slurry. They are moved to the finish mill where they are crushed and mixed with a small amount of gypsum to form the end product, which is claimed to be superior to other Portland cements.

Resource development depends on technological advances. In the late 1920's, officials of the W. D. Haden Company realized that shell had numerous potentialities for industrial use. After considerable experimentation, the first successful burning plant for processing lime from shell was developed. The favorable results achieved by the Haden Company's experiment in lime production had a direct bearing on the establishment of chemical plants along the coast, because lime is an essential of many chemical industries. Such well known companies as Dow Chemical, Champion Paper and Fibre, Mathieson Chemical, and Columbia-Southern (formerly Southern Alkali) were strongly influenced in choosing plant sites on the Gulf Coast by Haden's success in producing quality lime from shell. There are no large limestone deposits in the coastal area and some plants on the coast, lacking access to shell, bring limestone from New Braunfels, near San Antonio.

One of the world's largest users of mud shell is the gigantic Dow Chemical Company operation in Brazoria County, where shell lime is used to precipitate magnesium from sea water, and in several other chemical processes. Demand for shell increased greatly with the recent reopening of the government-owned and Dow-operated Velasco magnesium plant.

Caustic soda or sodium hydroxide (familiarily known as "lye"), produced with the use of shell lime at plants such as Columbia-Southern in Corpus Christi, is extensively used in other coastal industries. The Bishop plant of the Celanese Corporation of America uses caustic soda to make synthetic intermediates for numerous fiber and plastic end-products. When

caustic soda is made, quantities of carbon dioxide gas are liberated, and dry ice is formed under pressure. Much of the dry ice produced in this way is used in fruit and vegetable preservation in South Texas.

The petroleum industry also utilizes the carbon dioxide by-products in refining activities. Often, oil refiners flood refining units with this inert gas when repairs are made, thereby greatly reducing the fire hazard due to the presence of petroleum hydro-carbons in the lines. Certain shell products also are used in the refining of sour oils. Others are of value as weighting agents for the drilling muds used in exploration activities in the petroleum fields.

The Gulf pulp and paper industry uses chlorinated shell lime as a bleach. The Champion Fibre and Paper Company at Houston utilizes large amounts in turning out magazine paper stock and other high grade papers.

Considerable quantities of shell are ground and mixed with other materials to produce egg-building poultry feeds, and to manufacture bone-building mineral mixes for livestock. The lime in the shell furnishes calcium needed by chickens and cattle. These pulverized mixtures are shipped by several Gulf Coast processors to market in various parts of the United States and to foreign countries.

Crop land, in the humid portion of the Gulf Coast east of Nueces Bay, is given applications of shell lime to replace the calcium that is lost through leaching. Most growing plants depend heavily on calcium as a mineral food. Furthermore, lime neutralizes soil acidity, stimulates bacterial activity, and hastens the decomposition of humus. The availability of mud shell is a distinct asset to coastal farmers since almost 5 million acres of agricultural land in Southeast Texas need frequent liming.

Crushed shell can be used to neutralize industrial acid wastes. Numerous coastal factories now treat plant effluents with shell lime; thus, pollution is reduced.

The dredging of mud shell, already a highly mechanized process, is undergoing improvement. Shell is cut loose from reefs by huge circular cutters, designed somewhat like augers, which protrude from the front of dredges. The engine-powered, revolving cutter shaft drives its blades into the oyster beds. Loose shells are sucked into a hopper where they are washed. Sometimes they are sorted to size because larger shells are better adapted for certain uses than are the smaller ones. Hydraulic equipment, with greatly increased suction power and representing a considerable technical advancement, now is operated by several companies. This new machinery enables operators to retain small particles that formerly were wasted; small bits of shell are in great demand for use in asphalt mixes.

Shell-laden barges are tugged or pushed to dump yards, which resemble the numerous coal depots that line the harbors of the Great Lakes and north Atlantic ports. Gigantic conveyors load and unload the barges, trucks, and railway cars with astonishing rapidity. A new, clear-span con-

veyor recently put into operation by the Houston Shell and Concrete Company is capable of moving 300 tons per hour. Shell, along with fine sand, moves by conveyor directly to large hoppers, where they are mixed in a 2.5 to one proportion respectively, to produce stabilized shell. Some shell is also used in making ready-mix concrete and in preparing mixtures of sand, hot oil, shell, and live steam used in repair and building.

Although other states, Louisiana in particular, dredge considerable amounts of shell, Texas is the number-one producer, chiefly because her coast line is longer and more highly industrialized. The accompanying table shows that except for a marked drop during the latter part of World War II, production has climbed steadily. The Texas Game, Fish and Oyster Commission expects that a new record will be set for the fiscal year which ends June 30, 1952. Increased military activity is partially responsible for increasing demand for shell and its products.

TABLE I
OYSTER SHELL PRODUCTION IN TEXAS
(By Fiscal Years)

Year	Production in Cubic Yards
1940	3,486,640
1941	5,195,740
1942	5,485,573
1943	4,552,103
1944	3,421,434
1945	4,471,602
1946	5,482,190
1947	6,277,922
1948	7,193,274
1949	7,526,739
1950	8,461,000

Source: Texas Game, Fish and Oyster Commission

The State of Texas receives seven cents in revenue for each cubic yard of shell that is dredged. Accrued revenue is used to maintain fish hatcheries. Several new hatcheries, including those at San Marcos and Possum Kingdom were built within the past few years with funds received from payments by shell operators.

Among the chief problems of the industry are the hostility of fishermen and rapid silting at the mouths of the Trinity, Colorado, Sabine, Brazos, Guadalupe, and Nueces Rivers. In some instances, layers of silt two feet in depth occur, which greatly hamper dredging operations. This handicap is being partially overcome by technical improvements in equipment. Operators of the coastal fishery oppose any extension of dredging activity because they claim that these operations are detrimental to marine life.

The paramount problem of the shell industry is, "How long will this resource be available?" According to officials of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, an accurate estimate of reserves would cost approximately one-half million dollars because the reefs are dome shaped, thus necessitating soundings every few feet. The Corps of Engineers, United States Army, hesitate to make any long range forecasts, and the state has not made a comprehensive study of this resource. Some private operators are making surveys, but decline to reveal their findings. For example, Parker Brothers of Houston, one of the chief shell dredging and processing companies, is reported to have the most reliable estimates, but the company has made no public announcement. Drilling for oil in the tidelands has failed to add much information not already available from other sources. One encouraging fact is that many areas, not yet exploited, are known to contain reefs up to 15 feet thick. Improved methods of recovery undoubtedly will tend to lengthen the life of known reserves. The recent construction of huge new shell-using plants in this area suggests that known deposits are ample, at least, for the next two or three decades.

It is difficult to estimate the true value of this industry to the state. Shell ranks high on the list, however, of resources that are contributing to the industrialization of the Texas coast.

Land Distribution by Lottery in Georgia

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Early Georgians sought to solve problems of land distribution through a system at once unusual and short-lived—land lottery. Possibly one of the earliest recorded historical examples of the use of the "lot" for land division and distribution is found in the Old Testament where Jehovah instructed Moses to use the lot in distributing the land of Canaan; and Joshua later used this method.¹ Recently this method was employed by the federal government in distributing 86 farm sites, reclaimed by the drainage of Tule Lake, among 1,305 approved World War II veterans.² But probably nowhere in history have 22,000,000 acres of land been distributed by lottery except in Georgia.

Many of the problems of the world have long been closely associated with the relationships of people to the land on which they live. Two specific examples in the world today may be cited: Latin America which suffers from latifundia, and China which suffers from what may be called "minifundia".³ Most writers would agree that the association between land and population apparently involves at least four important social factors: (1) the manner in which the population is arranged on the land called "settlement patterns;" (2) the manner in which land is divided for surveying and recording boundaries known as "land division;" (3) the ways of holding land—rights or lack of rights—known as "land tenure;" and (4) the manner in which ownership of land is distributed which is called "size of holdings."⁴

At this point it should be emphasized that this paper does not explore in detail Georgia's people and land in relation to the four factors above,

¹See Numbers 26:55; 33:54; 34:13; and Joshua, 13-21.

²"Veterans Win Farms at Tule Lake Lottery," *Life*, 22:73-74, January 20, 1947.

³"Minifundia" is used to refer to the matter of extremely small holdings (resulting from fragmentation of holdings); latifundia denotes extremely large holdings and often carries the connotation that land is being intentionally withheld from productive use.

This is not intended to suggest reforms of any type or that outsiders should or should not interfere with the internal affairs of independent nations. Such things are beyond the scope of scientific sociology.

⁴T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life* (revised edition; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947), pp. 207-323.

but concentrates only upon selected aspects of land distribution and land tenure. It is believed however that it does contribute to the literature of rural sociology by describing a unique system of large-scale land distribution, i.e., the lottery system of land distribution used in Georgia in the early nineteenth century.⁸ Although it is not too well-known, land in Georgia, as in other pre-Revolutionary English colonies, was at one time held in *socage* and not in *fee simple*, and although there are stringent laws against lotteries in Georgia today at least six-tenths of the state's land were distributed by lotteries.⁹

Frame of Reference

Distribution of lands by lottery was by no means the first and only system of meeting land-population problems in Georgia. At least four periods in Georgia's land distribution history preceding the lottery system deserve consideration. These facts which follow were arbitrarily selected and are not all-inclusive; nevertheless, they are useful as a frame of reference for understanding the evolution of Georgia's land lottery.

(1) *Pre-Colony Era From 1605 to 1732.⁷*

The first attempt at colonization and land settlement in Georgia was made by Sir Robert Heath in 1605 under a grant received from Charles the First. Heath's efforts failed and the lands went to the proprietors of the Carolinas who sub-chartered parts of the area which were later known as Georgia to Sir Robert Montgomery and his heirs forever, provided he established a colony within three years. Montgomery failed to meet these conditions, and in 1726 the proprietors of the Carolinas surrendered their rights to the lands south of what is now South Carolina. This opened the way for a new charter and six years later George the Second granted these lands to the Trustees of the Colony of Georgia.

(2) *Colony Period Under the Trustees from 1732 to 1754.*

Since the Georgia trustees as individuals could not own land in the colony, the dominant motives for its establishment undoubtedly were philanthropic, military and economic. To elaborate, the colony was to provide opportunity for the worthy poor of England; second, it was to serve as a military buffer between the Carolinas and the Spanish in Florida; and third, it was to provide for an increase of trade and commerce for Britain.⁸

⁷The lottery system of Georgia has been well publicized in historical and economic literature, but little or no mention of it is found in strictly sociological literature.

⁸The state contains about 37,500,000 acres of which more than 22,000,000 acres were distributed by lottery.

⁹Walter G. Cooper, *The Story of Georgia* (New York: The American Historical Society, 1938), Vol. I, pp. 107-111.

¹⁰Allen D. Candler, compiler, *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia* (Atlanta, Georgia: The Franklin Printing and Publishing Co., 1904), Vol. I, p. 11.

With the arrival of the first boat load of settlers in 1733 distribution of land to individual holders began. The Charter⁹ was not specific in stipulating land regulations except to limit the size of holdings to 500 acres. Details of land division and tenure were left to the discretion of the Trustees who agreed upon a system of property inheritance called "in tail male" which allowed land to pass only to male heirs.¹⁰ They granted to those persons coming to the colony at their own expense, bringing 10 indentured white servants, 500 acres of land. Those coming at the expense of the Trustees were allowed only 50 acres.

The rule for 1735 provided lots 60 by 90 feet for persons settling in the towns, and additional land in one tract located outside the towns to make 50 acres. Persons not settling in towns were granted 50 acre plots. To avoid absentee ownership and its results no person was allowed to rent, lease, or sell his property. Upon the death of a family head where there was no remaining "male issue" land returned to the Trust, except in the case of persons coming at their own expense. In the latter instance wives were allowed to retain the home and half of the fenced land.¹¹ Near the close of this period land inheritance was permitted for female heirs, but it is probable that no lands were held in *fee simple*.

(3) *Colonial Period Under the Royal Governors from 1754 to 1776.*

The Trustees relinquished their control over the colony in 1752. Government of the colony was then in the hands of the King who appointed Captain John Reynolds, of the Royal Navy, governor. Soon after his appointment, Reynolds issued a proclamation relieving all lands of their former tenure restrictions, and issued new grants in free and common socage in the name of the King.¹² These new grants required the grantees or their heirs to pay to the Crown a quit rent of two shillings per year for each 100 acres.

In 1773 the Cherokee Indians ceded 2,000,000 acres of land in eastern Georgia to the King of England. These lands were distributed by sale under a "head rights" system whereby 100 acres were provided for each family head plus 50 acres for the wife, 50 acres for each child and white indentured male servant, and 25 acres for each white female servant. These lands sold for very low prices and were eagerly sought by many newcomers.¹³ A few years previously (1765) an undetermined amount

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹⁰*An Account of the Colony of Georgia in America from Its First Establishment* (London: Published per the order of the Honourable Trustees, 1741; Annapolis: reprinted and sold by Jonas Green at his printing office, 1742), pp. 5-8.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹²Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 454-456.

of land was granted by the King to his soldiers for services in the war against the French (knight-service).¹⁴

(4) *Post-Revolutionary Period from 1776 to 1803.*

After the Declaration of Independence and the formation of a state government, new land policies grew out of the exigencies produced by the war with England. The main source of wealth of the state was land and it was used to encourage patriots to fight, to induce the establishment of industries, and to reward veterans at the close of the war.¹⁵

A Land Act¹⁶ passed in February 1783, offered gratuitously (except for office expense and survey costs) 200 acres to every family head, with the right to purchase 100 additional acres for each member of his family but not to exceed 1,000 acres in total. This law which limited holdings to 1,000 acres and forbade persons from receiving more than one grant was much abused. At the close of the war the western lands of Georgia became the object of speculation. It was this era which produced the Yazoo fraud, in which the state of Georgia sold for \$500,000 some 35,000,000 acres of land to four Yazoo companies. A large part of this area was included in what is now Alabama and Mississippi.¹⁷

While these activities were concerned with the western lands of Georgia, speculation was rampant within the state.¹⁸ Many people who received grants had fraudulent surveys issued, and sold them to unsuspecting people in large cities of the North. The extent of these speculations is indicated by the fact that between 1789 and 1796 the state issued grants for some 29,000,000 acres of land, or more than three times the amount of actual acreage contained in the 24 counties in which grants were made.¹⁹ It is generally conceded that these frauds grew indirectly out of the state's policy of distributing land by the head rights system. The fact that the state adopted a new method of land distribution lends support to this opinion.

Lotteries

Lotteries had long been popular in England, and by the turn of the nineteenth century had been used in America for many purposes.²⁰ But

¹⁴Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

¹⁵E. Merton Coulter, *Georgia, A Short History* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1947), pp. 163-164.

¹⁶Cooper, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 205-206.

¹⁷Robert Preston Brooks, *History of Georgia* (New York: Atkinson, Mentzer, and Co., 1913), pp. 151-161.

¹⁸George Gillman Smith, *The Story of Georgia and the Georgia People, 1732-1860* (Atlanta, Georgia: The Franklin Printing and Publishing Co., 1900), pp. 176-178.

¹⁹Cooper, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 203-209.

²⁰H. M. Muller, *Lotteries* (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1935), p. 27. Also see John Ashton, *A History of English Lotteries* (London: Leadenhall Press, Ltd., 1893),

it remained for Georgia, a state which had employed lotteries for improving navigation on the Savannah River in 1796 and the Altamaha and Oconee Rivers in 1798, to adapt the lottery system to land distribution.²² When such activities as the Great Pine Barren Speculation caused people of the state to question seriously the head rights system and to conclude that it had failed in its purpose, the legislature passed the Lottery Act in 1803.²³

Generally speaking, the Oconee River is the line between the head rights system and the lottery system of land distribution. Most of the land west of the river was divided under the lottery system while the land east of the river (and south of Franklin, Banks, and Jackson Counties) was distributed under the head rights system.²⁴

As new territory was acquired and new counties laid out, the land was surveyed and divided into tracts ranging in size from 40 to 490 acres. The extremely small lots were usually found in North Georgia and were often referred to as "gold lots" since they were thought to contain gold and thus were more valuable.²⁵ The breakdown of the distributed lots shows that more lots of 40 acres and 202½ acres were distributed than those of other sizes (see Table I).

The Act of 1803 authorizing the lotteries²⁶ defined those eligible to draw and specified the number of draws as follows: (1) one draw for every free white male 21 years of age or over, being a citizen of the United States and a resident of Georgia for at least one year immediately preceding the passage of the Lottery Act, or any such male who had contributed toward the support of the state government by payment of taxes; (2) two draws for every white male as described above possessing a wife and legitimate children under 21; (3) two draws for every widow with children

p. 2; Ernst Seelig, "Lotteries," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. IX, pp. 611-616; A. R. Spofford, "Lotteries in American History," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1892, pp. 173-195.

²²Robert and George Watkins, *A Digest of the Laws of the State of Georgia* (Philadelphia: R. Aitken, 1800), pp. 597-598.

²³Lawton B. Evans, *A History of Georgia* (New York: American Book Co., 1898), p. 162.

²⁴*Loc. cit.*

²⁵Thomas P. Janes, *Handbook of the State of Georgia* (second edition; New York: S. W. Green, Electrotyper, 1876), pp. 164-165; C. Langdon White and Edwin J. Foscue, *Regional Geography of Anglo-America* (New York: Prentiss-Hall, Inc., 1948), p. 143. These authors state that prior to the Gold Rush to California in 1849, Georgia was the nation's leading source of gold.

²⁶*Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia*, Extra Session, 1803 (Augusta, Georgia: A. McMillan, 1803), pp. 8-9.

TABLE I
LAND LOTTERIES IN GEORGIA, 1803-1831

Lottery Acts (Year)	Size of Lots (Acres)	Estimated Number of Lots	Estimated Number Of Acres Distributed
1803	202½	4,000	810,000
	490	1,100	539,000
1806	202½	9,300	209,250
1818	250	17,500	4,375,000
	490	10,000	4,900,000
1819	250	1,100	275,000
	490	1,100	539,000
1821	202½	12,200	2,470,500
1825	202½	21,000	4,252,500
1830	160	18,300	2,928,000
1831	40	35,000	1,400,000
Total	172.3	130,000	22,440,250

Source: Enoch Marvin Banks, *The Economics of Land Tenure in Georgia*, (New York: The Columbia University Press, 1905), p. 18.

under 21 having been a resident of the state for one year preceding the act; (4) and one draw for all families of orphans.

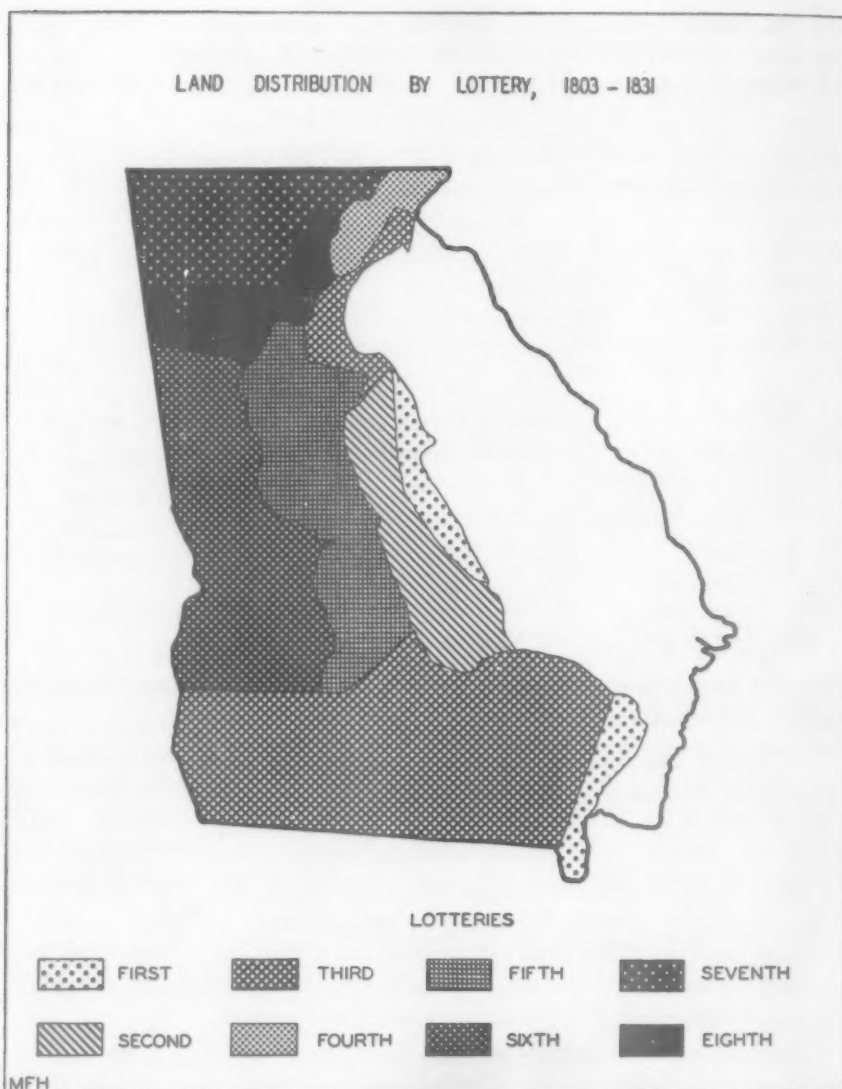
Problems of land distribution were by no means solved, even by lottery. There were not enough lots for each applicant to be successful in winning land. It often happened that those who had no land drew blanks under the lottery and remained landless, while those who had received land under the head rights system were often successful in drawing additional land under the lottery system. Persons who secured land by lottery were required to pay four dollars per 100 acres to cover the cost of surveying and granting the land; furthermore, they were required to "take out" the grant within a limited time, else the claim reverted to the state.

Following the first lottery in 1805 seven more lotteries were held as rapidly as Indian claims to unoccupied land in Georgia were extinguished, and by 1833 more than 22,000,000 acres had been distributed.²⁶ (Land distributed in each lottery is shown in the accompanying figure.)

Summary. The lottery system of land distribution was far from perfect; however, it was an improvement over former methods. E. M. Banks²⁷ concluded that at the close of the distribution of Georgia's public domain many new land-owners had been created and yet the situation was far from

²⁶Janes, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-165.

²⁷Enoch Marvin Banks, *The Economics of Land Tenure in Georgia* (New York: the Columbia University Press), pp. 19-20.



APPROXIMATE AREAS OF GEORGIA INCLUDED IN THE VARIOUS LOTTERIES, 1803-1831. (BASED ON JANES, *HANDBOOK OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA*.)

ideal since a large group remained landless although much land had been allowed to revert to the state. He further concluded that many who had previously owned land had increased their holdings and that a situation existed which favored further increase of holdings by certain individuals.

Interest in Georgia's unique method of solving land problems apparently died with the system. In 1874 Chappell said of the Georgia land lottery:

... Why the old mode so long in use in Georgia and everywhere else in Anglo-America, was abandoned by our fathers and the plan of the Land Lottery adopted in its stead, is certainly an interesting question, and one the answer to which will, in all likelihood, be wholly lost in a few generations more. For contemporaneous history, has, I believe, overlooked the matter as beneath its dignity, nor do I know that there is any account of the reasons to be found anywhere on record or in print. Yet tradition has preserved them thus far, and those who will search among the peculiar circumstances which occurred in Georgia during the last years of the last century, will find in them also a clear solution of the novelty—for novelty our Land Lottery system undoubtedly was. None greater and more striking has ever occurred in the polity of any country, in regard to its public lands. It was a thing wholly new under the sun. No precedent for it existed in all the files of the past. There was not anywhere the shadow of a likeness to it, nothing analogous even. Georgia originated and contrived it out of whole cloth, and at once it acquired a strong popularity here which it never lost. And yet no favor or following out of Georgia did it ever find. It was never copied or imitated anywhere else, consequently as soon as the State's public domain was exhausted and no more lands remained to be distributed, the invention died out at once right here on the spot of its birth, and is now laid away forever among the innumerable bygone things interesting and important in their day, but which are never more to be repeated or seen.²⁸

In one respect in particular, Chappell was probably right. The combination of the lottery and large-scale land distribution was a social invention unique in modern times.²⁹

²⁸Absalom H. Chappell, *Miscellanies of Georgia*, (Atlanta, Georgia: James F. Meegan, 1874), Part II; pp. 23-24.

²⁹No attempt has been made to evaluate the lottery as a means of land distribution, but as far as the authors have been able to determine, this is one of the few times in which man has made use of lotteries for distributing an extensive body of public land.

Book Reviews

Edited by H. MALCOLM MACDONALD

NATHAN SCHANER: *Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1951, 2 Vols., Pp., 1070, \$6.00 per Vol.)

This life of Jefferson is the most complete, authoritative and constructive piece of biography that has appeared since Beveridge's *Life of John Marshall*. It creates a new Jefferson, one who at once takes rank with James Wilson, Alexander Hamilton and James Madison as a founder of our political institutions. The Jefferson that has come down to us has been grossly misrepresented by his enemies and even by many of his friends as exclusively a destructionist. They have said that he never suggested anything to take the place of what he destroyed, that he was born a revolutionist and that it would have been unfortunate for the country if he had been a member of the federal convention of 1787 where constructive statesmanship was required.

The author shows that Jefferson was primarily responsible for the establishment of the intercolonial system of correspondence in 1773, the first connecting link between the colonies, that these committees became our first state governments, that they were responsible for the creation of the Continental Congress in 1774, and that this American machinery became the substitute for the British colonial system and the foundation of the American constitutional system. The fact is that this was the far-sighted piece of constructive statesmanship, providing a system of controls before the English colonial governments were knocked down, that kept the American revolution from degenerating into a destructive process. It made the American revolution the most constructive revolution known to history.

It is further shown that Jefferson was among the first to suggest that the proper solution of the problem of representation in Congress was the representation of the people in one house and of the states in the other, that he said we must be a nation in external and a confederacy in domestic matters, and that the harmonizing of the functions of the nation and the states should be a judicial matter rather than a legislative function of the Congress. In other words, Jefferson advocated a scheme of government—"partly national and partly federal"—maintained by judicial review.

It is also shown that Jefferson, as he himself said, was never an anti-federalist, though he has constantly been represented as the leader of those who opposed the ratification of the Constitution. The steps by which Jefferson advanced from almost a "neutral" to a "warm" advocate of ratification are clearly stated. When he received the first copy of the Constitution from Elbridge Gerry, he didn't like some portions of it, but when

he received a copy from Madison with twenty pages of explanation he decided it should be ratified by at least nine states, but the other four should defer approval until a bill of rights was added. When he learned that the ratifying conventions were proposing a bill of rights he became a supporter of complete ratification, feeling that a bill of rights would follow ratification. Jefferson said there were "two bitter pills" about the Constitution: (1) The lack of a bill of rights and (2) the absence of rotation in office, especially in the case of the President. He learned that only one of the ratifying conventions objected to the re-eligibility of the President. He therefore decided that he would have to wait for the future to eliminate his "pill." This, of course, has recently been done by the twenty-second amendment. After more than a century and a half the American people have accepted the contention of Jefferson made in 1787. While Jefferson prepared a twenty-five year program of legislation for Virginia, it is evident that he also in many important respects made a blue print for the nation. Whenever posterity added territory to the West and provided for new states to the Union of States, or struck the shackles from 4,000,000 slaves, or developed our public school system, or further democratized our political institutions, it was only completing "the Jeffersonian dream."

This somewhat extended account of Jefferson's contribution to our Constitution is given as a sample of the reconstructed Jefferson which is characteristic of this two-volume work. Whether Jefferson is considered as an architect, a lawyer, an educator, the father of the West, an advocate of the freedom of the mind, an apostle of the rights of man, the champion of republicanism, a Vice-President, and President, the account is fresh and stimulating. The ambition of the author seems to have been to present the true Jefferson as an able exponent of the period of enlightenment when reason robbed gods of their thrones, turned Heaven into a blue sky, converted hell into a figment of the imagination and made natural law the foundation of a limited government and the source of the rights of man.

This work gives every evidence of extensive research, much new material has been used, the footnotes are exceptionally suggestive. The style of the author is very readable and flows smoothly except at times when the author goes to the four corners of the earth for a word that expands the circumference of your vocabulary. While the author had already achieved a substantial rating as an American historian, in this work, to use one of his pet words, he has "enscored" himself in the ranks of the great American biographers. It would require a monograph to present an adequate review of this notable contribution and this would rob the reader of the thrills which are in store for him.

The University of Texas

C. PERRY PATTERSON

H. L. TREFFOUSSE: *Germany and American Neutrality 1939-1951*. (New York: Bookman Associates, Inc., 1951, Pp., 247, \$3.75.)

This careful study of authentic source materials by a former member

of Military Intelligence analyzes the course of German policy *vis a vis* the United States in the period of undeclared hostilities prior to Pearl Harbor. The subject is not without topical significance. Current critics of United States foreign policy are reviving isolationist sentiments by charging the Roosevelt Administration with gross misjudgement of Nazi designs, usurpation of authority, and unprovoked acts of war against Germany. In the light of their deductions, the United States emerges as the aggressor and Nazi Germany as a power sincerely bent upon maintaining peace with the United States.

Trefousse's book explodes this theory. He does not deny that Hitler's bid for the United States neutrality during 1938-1941 was deliberate and genuine, notwithstanding its final collapse. However, the evidence also shows that German interest in United States neutrality was not derived of Nazi feelings of friendship for the United States or on compatibility of the United States-German aspirations; neutralization of the United States, by Germany, appears as a temporary device of Nazi strategists to delimit the fighting fronts and to assure the piece-meal elimination of one opponent at a time. Neutrality, far from protecting the United States domestic scene against Nazi intervention through propaganda and subversion, thus was intended to make America first an accessory to Nazi aggression and possibly later a target. While the material presented by Trefousse does not prove conclusively the existence of a detailed military plan of action against the United States, it verifies the well-known Nazi pattern of conquest by installments and it foreshadows the eventual isolation and eclipse of America as a world power. By refusing to accept the role assigned to it by Hitler and by rejecting the concept of neutrality peddled by contemporary Nazi political scientists as "unconditional impartiality," the United States Government called the Nazi bluff, recovered the initiative, and forced Hitler to adopt a "Fabian Policy" of embarrassed temporizing.

Yet, as the author proves convincingly, the failure of Hitler's neutrality policy was not the result of America's gradual shift from neutrality to belligerency "short-of-war," but a satellite move on the part of Germany dictated by the frantic desire to keep the friendship of the free-wheeling Mikado. The author may take substantial credit for his plausible presentation of the thesis that it was not the United States Administration but Japan which pushed Germany into the war against the United States. In addition, Trefousse must be credited for having challenged the traditional concept of neutrality as a notion of limited value in an age of unlimited aggression.

Department of State

HENRY J. KELLERMAN

ROBERT J. HAVINGHURST, and Associates: *The American Veteran Back Home*. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1951, Pp., 271, \$3.50.)

This is a collection and analysis of data concerning veteran readjustment after World War II. The chief subjects are 416 veterans; the study represents continuous research from pre-induction—through the war years and immediate separation—until 1949.

After a brief justification for the study, the authors present a description of the veterans' hometown in Illinois called "Midwest," and classify its inhabitants into five distinct status groups. A major contribution of the book is its basically statistical account of servicemen's experiences according to their socioeconomic positions in prewar Midwest.

Chapter 3 is concerned with the induction process of Midwesterners. Next is a compendium of the general military environment with special references to reactions of local servicemen and some data on the branch of service and rank in service of Midwest men according to community status.

The book "picks up" with an informative chapter about the wives of servicemen revealing how the "girls back home" made out (according to their socioeconomic status).

A chapter describes the patriotism of hometowners, followed by an account of the veteran's homecoming. Then come chapters about "The Job" and "Patterns of Job Adjustment." These four chapters have many accounts of particular individual and community experiences; the last one emphasizes the influence of service experience, class structure, age, and marital status—and compares vets to non-vets—in job adjustment.

Perhaps Chapter 10 does most to justify the publication. In a commendable manner it compares adjustment of veterans with non-veterans four years after the war. Intensive techniques of investigation reveal that married non-veterans gained insignificantly slight advantage over married and single veterans of the same age group in terms of socioeconomic status, personal adjustment, and acceptance of the local community. Chapter 11 discusses the younger veterans after four years of adjustment and is very informative, but lacks the comparison group techniques used for the older veterans.

Considering the relatively small influence of Veteran's Organizations in the daily lives of the ex-service men, the chapter about them seems scarcely to extend the merits of the book, nor does the last chapter, "What Did the War Win?" contribute to its principal thesis. Although the book is spotty, it represents a major contribution as a study of the adjustment of veterans in a particular community.

University of Kentucky

J. HARDY JONES, JR.

VIRGINIA WOOD: *Due Process of Law: 1932-1949*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951, Pp., 436, \$6.00.)

FRANCIS H. HELLER: *The Sixth Amendment*. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1951, Pp., 195, \$3.50.)

The first of these works by Professor Wood of the University of Georgia is a careful and detailed study of the use of Due Process of Law Clause by the Supreme Court during the period 1932-49. The material has been organized under three heads: Civil Liberties, Taxation and Administrative Problems and provides a concise summation of the cases decided by the court in these areas. A guide to the development of the court's use of due process has long been needed and the present work, within its time limitation, admirably performs that service. It is regrettable that Professor Wood did not allow freer reign to her own opinions and conclusions, at least in a concluding chapter, attempt a summation of the various positions taken by the members of the court on the extent and implications of the due process clause. Had she done so much would have been added to her valuable factual study. From occasional hints and asides one feels that the author favors the position of the present Black-Douglas and the earlier Murphy-Rutledge approach to the nature of the judicial function and a further expansion of this point of view would have been useful.

Professor Heller of the University of Kansas deals with a more restricted field than Professor Wood, namely the interpretation of the Sixth Amendment. His book covers the problems of the right to jury trial and the other procedural protections accorded by the amendment. Of necessity most of the illustrations and material are drawn from Federal Court decisions, although occasional references to the intergovernmental and state aspects of the problem are introduced. The early chapters offer a brief survey of the English and Colonial background and the balance of the book is devoted to a technical analysis of the interpretation and application of the amendment by the Courts. The author is more critical and argumentative than Professor Wood, while the more restricted nature of his study makes it of greater value to the specialist than to the general student of constitutional problems.

Both works are definite contributions in the field and the two University Presses responsible for their publication are to be congratulated for making available scholarly works of this type.

The University of Texas

H. MALCOLM MACDONALD

V. A. LEONARD: *Police Organization and Management*. (Brooklyn: The Foundation Press, 1951, Pp., 507, \$5.00.)

Though only about one year has elapsed since O. W. Wilson's *Police Administration* was published, this new, large treatise covers much the same ground. In method of approach and in treatment the two works are in striking contrast.

Both works are confined to the problems that arise in city police forces. But Professor Leonard's book, while the shorter of the two, is overburdened with illustrative material. Sixty pages appear to have been taken in their entirety from an academic catalog. They list the various curricula offered by the Department of Police Science and Administration at the State College of Washington. One-third of the chapter on the executive is devoted to the preliminary circular and application form employed in connection with the appointment of a police chief in Seattle. These and other diffuse treatments weaken the structure of the book and also serve to obscure some of its strong points.

Professor Leonard is insistent in holding to a high level of performance, and as an experienced police officer, he is in a position to interpret the strength and weakness of our municipal police as few others can. These are large virtues which the patient reader can discover for himself.

Ten chapters, six appendices and a bibliography are concerned with the police executive, organization, selection and training, records administration, patrol and other line units, strategy and tactics, and measurements of efficiency. We liked best Chapter 7: *Patrol—Major Component of Manpower*. It is so clear, coherent and penetrating in its analysis as to constitute the best treatment of the subject that we have seen.

Institute of Public Administration

BRUCE SMITH

DAVID CHURCHILL SOMERVELL: *British Policies Since 1900*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950, Pp., 265, \$3.75.)

Mr. Somervell, author of the well-known one volume abridgement of Toynbee's *A Study of History* and of *English Thought in the 19th Century*, shying away from a general outline of British history in this century, has here attempted the difficult task of writing an interpretative account of "party politics," "of the rising and falling of governments," "and of the ups and downs of party political opinion" in Britain in the last fifty years. To this reviewer's mind, he has been extremely successful.

The pedant, interested in detailed factual analyses, will not like Mr. Somervell's treatment of this era. Those, however, who believe the human element of political leadership is of paramount importance in achieving an understanding of political systems and of political history will revel in Somervell's rapier wit, his accounts of little-known facets in the character of twentieth-century British statesmen and politicians, his objective selection of historical data to illustrate major political trends, and his success in non-partisan treatment of the relative importance of various figures of Britain in this period. To paraphrase the words of a sage of a slightly earlier period, Plunkitt of Tammany Hall, Mr. Somervell has "studied human nature and writ accordin'."

Your reviewer has only one regret about Mr. Somervell's essays in this volume; he has omitted from his narrative a consideration of Winston

Churchill's war years on the grounds that this period of British history was not "politics as usual." Somervell means this as a tribute to Churchill's war leadership, and it is undoubtedly a deserved accolade, but I hope that the future will see Mr. Somervell exercising himself on a treatment of Churchill the politician.

Oklahoma A. & M. College

ROBERT E. POWERS

MURRAY EDELMAN: *The Licensing of Radio Services in The United States 1927 to 1947; A Study in Administrative Formulation of Policy.* (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1950, Pp., 229, \$3.00.)

The concept and performance of the independent regulatory commission in the American political economy have been subjects of controversy in the last two decades, with numerous independent studies supplementing the consideration given to them by the President's Committee on Administrative Management and the Hoover Commission. Perhaps one good approach to the whole problem would be to find out, through careful individual studies, what kind of public policy has emerged in each instance of the placing of wide discretionary power in the hands of such a body to regulate in the "public interest." That is the approach of this study in the field of radio regulation.

It is important to make clear what this book, a doctoral dissertation at the University of Illinois, does and does not do. It is an extensive case study of the exercise of the licensing power by the Federal Radio Commission and its successor, the Federal Communications Commission. The material is taken almost exclusively from government documents, and especially from the reports of cases decided by the commissions. The five page concluding chapter notes the importance in radio regulation of the social milieu in which the commission operates, but that is not what the book is about. The personal predilections of the commissioners, the pressures on them from politicians and parties in interest, are outside the scope of the study. Two introductory chapters sketch briefly the setting and history of the regulatory problem, making clear the crucial influence on later policy of the tardy and inadequate beginnings of federal regulation. Three chapters are devoted to the licensing of standard broadcast stations; one each to nonstandard (FM, television, facsimile, etc.) stations, common carrier stations, and safety radio services; and one to special services and radio operators. Finally, the coordination of telecommunications policy through interdepartmental committees is critically analyzed. There is a brief bibliography and an inadequate index.

The author's impressive contribution to the literature of administrative regulation is his presentation, tersely and clearly, of the policy developed by the two commissions pretty much as they made it, through rulings on hundreds of particular issues. The record shows some substantial efforts to promote the public interest affirmatively, especially in the guidance of

technological change. On the central problem of the character of radio broadcasts the public may hear, however, Dr. Edelman documents conclusively the major flaw in the commissions' performance; the kind of radio service they have almost unanimously declared for would satisfy all but the most intransigent critic; the kind of radio service they have settled for is the kind we get now. "In every case," he states, "departures from declared policies have occurred with respect to policies which, if rigorously enforced, might reduce somewhat the profitability of radio broadcast." This he attributes to the social milieu in which the commission functions, in which the regulated giants are vigilant and vocal, and the listening millions are not. On the record, nevertheless, some readers will not be so easily satisfied that "the independent regulatory commission appears to be an adequate device for maintaining a continuing surveillance over the growth and operations of the radio industry and the use of the frequency spectrum" and that "a wise and careful choice of commissioners is likely to do most to improve public policy in this field."

The University of Wisconsin

RALPH K. HUITT

ERICH W. ZIMMERMAN: *World Resources and Industries* (Revised Edition): New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951, Pp., 818, \$7.50.)

The first edition of *World Resources and Industries*, 1933, by Dr. Erich W. Zimmerman was hailed as a major contribution to the literature of the Social Sciences. The revised edition is superior in every way; it is a landmark in contemporary thinking, a monumental achievement of modern scholarship. The basic concepts are more fully developed and thereby made clearer. A fuller recognition of the political aspects has been added to the previously adequate treatment of geographic, technological, social and economic aspects. The style is clear, understandable and stimulating.

Dr. Zimmerman has that rare skill, that almost uncanny ability to present brilliantly most difficult and unmanageable subjects. The book contains a wealth of factual information, but its major contribution to the Social Sciences lies in the philosophical framework of its ideas. Of these the functional or operational approach to the theory of resources is basic. According to it:

"Resources are not; they become. Resources are living phenomena, expanding and contracting in response to human effort and behavior."

The inference of the importance of the human element should be noted. This thesis lends to the entire book a coherent logic, a monolithic consistency which reconciles the concepts of the natural sciences and the social sciences, and reveals the multiplicity of causation between them. The ideas expounded, rather than the presented facts, are what make this book a major contribution to the field of the Social Sciences.

As the old, the revised edition is divided into the four parts: I. Introduction to the Study of Resources; II. Resources of Agriculture; III. Resources of Industry; and IV. Resource Problems. Each part is subdivided into units of related chapters. The unit is an innovation which renders the overall plan of organization more transparent. The author has taken great pains to reorganize every chapter in order to make its structure more logical.

After reading the book, it is difficult to approach the field of resources from any point of view other than that of the functionalist. Those who have been fortunate enough to attend the author's classes will remember him as an humble, thought-provoking, and inspiring lecturer, who is always eager to learn something new, whether it comes from a world famous scientist, or from a student in the classroom. Hence, his dedication in the revised edition remains: "To My Teachers—Those who taught me and those whom I have taught."

The University of Texas

LOUIE WILLIAM WALTER

LOUIS PAUL NESTEL: *Labor Relations in the Laundry Industry in Greater New York*. (New York: Privately Printed, 1950, Pp., 106, \$2.00.)

"The most remarkable and arresting fact" which the author finds from a study of the laundry industry of Greater New York is that the industry was organized without a strike and that its subsequent history was similarly unmarred. This "success" is ascribed to "reasonable and responsible men who conduct themselves in accordance with the rule of law in human relationships." Thus the industry serves as a "supreme example of the workability of industrial government in a democracy." (P. 10) Since all parties to negotiations sincerely desire industrial peace, recognize a community of interest and possess attitudes of trust and cooperation, harmony inevitably follows.

After positing his basic thesis Nestel devotes several chapters to factual data; industrial statistics, job classifications, union history, social legislation and union cultural activities are given brief attention. He then sketches the unionization of the laundry industry as it proceeded under the guiding hand of Sidney Hillman and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA).

Although Nestel contends that the laundry industry was organized "without a strike," we are told later that when some employers refused to accede to union demands, "strikes in hand laundries were called almost daily for months." The first agreement with a Chinese steam laundry was signed "only after a strike of six months' duration." Furthermore, "strikes were conducted against most of the Chinese wholesale laundries during 1941." The 'remarkable and arresting fact' about the industry seems to be not even a 'fact'.

Other generalizations made by the author do not appear to be borne out by his description of bargaining and arbitration procedures. For example, the manager of the Laundry Workers' Joint Board is appointed by the ACWA. Such action hardly qualifies as 'democratic' industrial government. Nor is an "attitude of trust" exemplified in a contractual arrangement which permits employers to examine the books of the union relief fund, "as a safeguard against abuse," and which grants the union permission to view the records of employers in order to insure their compliance with social security laws.

Nestel emphasizes the importance of a 'mutual philosophy of accommodation', yet he records numerous instances of employers acceding to union demands for lack of an alternative. They were 'accommodating' not because they saw a 'community of interest', but because they wished to avoid work stoppages. In this respect the laundry owners acted no differently from countless employers in other industries who were confronted by a powerful, well-disciplined union. Their rational behavior by no means illustrates either 'mutual accommodation' or 'common interests'. It's just common sense.

The author argues that the process of arbitration and collective bargaining has not been injurious to employers, as evidenced by "the simple observation that the latter are still in business and profitably so." Collective bargaining "has resulted in increased profits for laundry concerns;" which are credited to "freedom from union strikes, boycotts, and other coercive weapons" as well as to the elimination of "wasteful competition." It is noted, however, that the union "has been favorized(!)" by the fact that during the almost twelve years of its existence no depression has hit the industry." Under such economic conditions it might be equally valid to conclude that the industry prospered in spite of the union rather than because of it.

The book was instructive to this reviewer, who was unfamiliar with data pertaining to the organization of the laundry industry in Greater New York. The interpretations and generalizations which resulted therefrom, however, are at best highly questionable.

Trinity University

HAROLD A. SHAPIRO

AUGUST O. SPAIN: *The Political Theory of John C. Calhoun*. (New York: Bookman Associates, 1951, Pp., 306, \$3.50.)

The evaluation of the social and political theory of Calhoun ranges from the denigrative to the most laudatory. Some have said that Calhoun was but an ineffectual imitator of Jefferson. Others have ranked his originality with that of Henry George, and his systematic presentation of a social theory with that of the more notable European thinkers of his time. Spain's judgment is of the second type, for he says that "the

theory of Calhoun was perhaps the most significant contribution in the whole field of American political thought before the Civil War." In such a judgment, this reviewer for the most part concurs. The book in hand surveys the life and times of Calhoun, the events of American history through which he fought his political way, and the gradual emergence of what we now call a Calhounian point of view. Antebellum Southern thought seldom receives adequate consideration because of aversion to one of its features, that of the defense of slavery. But Spain's contention is that aside from the defense of slavery, Calhoun's system merits the attention of contemporary students living in a troubled West. The contribution made by the author to Calhoun literature is varied. He shows carefully and most effectively the connection between Calhoun and the American tradition, both before and after the mid-century period. In its detail and imagination, this is undoubtedly the strongest feature of the volume. But the author also examines the use of Calhoun in the German debate on federalism; he shows the relationship historically and actually between Calhoun and decentralist, agrarian ways of thinking; and he rebuts the presumption in much social science that one who loses an argument with history is necessarily reactionary. Referring to the Merriam-Parrington interpretation of Calhoun, Spain observes; "Only an extremely mechanistic determination would justify characterizing his (Calhoun's) opposition to the trend toward political centralization as blind or entirely futile."

University of Illinois

FRANCIS G. WILSON

SUMNER WELLES: *Seven Decisions That Shaped History*. (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950, Pp., 236, \$3.00.)

Historic decisions have been forced upon our policy makers with such rapidity during the past decade that it would require a high degree of knowledge and understanding to isolate the most significant at this early date. In writing this book Sumner Welles has confined himself to the years from 1937 to 1945. He does not insist that his seven decisions are necessarily *the* most important ones of that period, but they are all highly significant. In the deliberations leading up to some of these decisions, Welles participated directly; he resigned in 1943, as the book jacket says, "the victim of a State Department feud." Of the later decisions, he was a well-informed observer.

Welles' purpose in writing this book is not to make excuses; he admits the errors of some of our diplomatic decisions (particularly the failure to support Chiang Kai Shek) for which we are now paying the penalty, but he is concerned with restoring these decisions to the proper perspective. There has been too much of a tendency, he insists, to impugn President Roosevelt's motives; too much of a willingness to "quarterback" long after the event. It is all very well to say in 1951, proceeding from today's

knowledge, what *ought* to have been done in 1937 or 1942 or 1945; but policy makers, not being endowed with supernatural abilities, have to deal with situations as they see them and understand them and estimate them at that time. It is here that Welles' book performs a useful service. He does not offer a great deal of new information, but briefly and clearly goes over the seven specific problems or issues, the alternatives that appeared, the decisions that were made, and why. An open-minded reader is forced to concur that *at that time* the decision was either desirable or probably the best that could be achieved.

Stated briefly, these are the seven decisions:

(1) The decision by the President in 1937, as a result of opposition from Chamberlain and Hull, not to make a dramatic move to halt the coming war in Europe and to make clear to the Axis where the United States stood in the event of war. It was at Welles' instigation that Roosevelt first entertained this plan.

(2) The decision to recognize the government of a Vichy France.

(3) The decision to support China and not to give way before Japan on our traditional policies in the Far East, although to keep the door open for negotiations as long as possible.

(4) The President's decision to accept (over Hull's objection) the statement on hemisphere unity obtained by Welles from the Conference of American Foreign Ministers at Rio de Janeiro in January 1942.

(5) The decision to postpone the settlement of political and territorial problems until the war's end.

(6) The President's decision to grant Stalin's demands in the Far East in return for the Russian promise to enter the war against Japan.

(7) The decision to organize a functioning United Nations before the war ended.

With the first decision, Welles is naturally unhappy. He is not certain that much would have been accomplished thereby but it was a failure not to try. With the next three the former Under Secretary is generally in complete agreement. The fifth was a mistake; Welles was among those in the Department urging advance planning and settlements, wherever possible, of political and territorial problems. He found himself running counter to both military and administration policy, although he correctly points out that some of the war-time conferences did actually make decisions on post-war settlements. Giving in to Stalin at Yalta, it can be seen *now*, was a mistake. Very few men in responsible positions thought so in 1945 when, as Welles points out, the President had two alternatives: to accept or overrule the unanimous advice of the Combined Chiefs of Staff. It may be argued that Roosevelt need not have offered Stalin so much for entering the war against Japan, but the basic miscalculation—for which the President can hardly be blamed—was

that Japan could not be defeated without Russian intervention. The seventh decision the author thinks a wise one.

There is in such a book a broad survey of American diplomatic history of the war period and it is a good refresher for one who wishes to reconsider objectively the problems of those years. Certain ideas recur; Cordell Hull did not have the flexibility and the vision required of the American Secretary of State in these crucial years, and he often annoyed or handicapped the President; Americans need to be more realistic as they view their country's foreign policies, and behind each decision there must be the power to follow through (the Lippmann thesis: to balance commitments and power); Americans must learn patience and their country's foreign policy must be dependable, for great haste and inconsistency do not become a world power that seeks to be influential; and finally the question is put, might world affairs have progressed differently in the last five years if Franklin Roosevelt had lived? Mr. Welles seems to think so.

Canberra, Australia

JAMES R. ROACH

DELBERT C. MILLER and WILLIAM H. FORM: *Industrial Sociology*. New York: Harper and Bros., 1951, Pp., 896, \$6.00.)

"This is the first volume to provide a comprehensive treatment of the fast-growing new field of industrial sociology," or so the publisher advertises this book on the jacket. One supposes that this claim is based upon a peculiar definition of the word "comprehensive." It at least is longer than the one or two other books designed as textbooks for courses in industrial sociology.

The authors are quite obviously greatly preoccupied with the problems of what the field of industrial sociology is, and what the job of the industrial sociologist should be. The first hundred pages of the book are devoted to these topics. Starting with the "Hawthorne Experiments" of the Mayo group, the authors trace the rise of industrial sociology, the contribution to the field from several disciplines, its methodology, and the orientations to the field.

This is certainly a desirable way to begin a book for elementary students—to tell what the field of investigation is, to place it in its relation to other disciplines, and to give some idea of the historical continuity, if any, of developing thought in the field.

Despite, or perhaps because, of the length of this section, one is not sure at the end, what the authors propose to do, or propose that industrial sociologists do, and how they are to proceed. It is apparently not only what Mayo and his associates did, since the authors, while expressing the greatest respect and doing a good job of summarizing it, present a ten page critique of this work on its truly significant weak points. But little real light is shed beyond the introductory statement that the industrial sociologist "undertakes to study (1) the social organization of

the work plant and (2) the socialization of the worker." (P. 29) It takes the next 75 pages to advance the obvious, that industry is socially organized, and that the society at large impinges upon the nature and behavior of industrial societies. This reader is left with the impression that the length of this section resulted from an effort of the authors to convince themselves.

The work goes on to describe the organization of men and management, formally and informally, apparently to further belabor the apparent, that industry is not a mob, and that individuals and social groups can be described and categorized. This, of course needs saying, but it shouldn't take three hundred pages to say.

The next section is devoted to "applied industrial sociology," in which the authors suggest that "applied sociology" is the application of the generalizations previously advanced to place workers and improve morale. This, after criticizing Mayo for "pro-management bias"! While not denying that the generalizations of industrial sociology are truly significant for these problems, this reviewer would argue that the application of generalization in the social sciences is primarily in the making of public policy. The application of economics as a discipline, is not *primarily* in "business," and no more in "business" than in "labor," "agriculture," etc., but is primarily in government, and non-governmental groups impinging on the making of social policies. If the applications of industrial sociology are managerial primarily, it ought to be taught in a College of Business Administration.

Most of the balance of the book is concerned with describing the socialization of the worker as it characteristically develops at the several stages of his work life, and is a fairly adequate summary of the empirical data in that area.

The final section of the book, "Industry and Society" is an effort at truly "applied industrial sociology"—bringing to bear sociological generalizations on social problems. However, the authors have so slighted this problem that little is contributed. It is too bad that this section was not a much more substantial part of a considerably shorter book.

This reviewer regrets that a great deal of work, which this book obviously entailed, didn't go to better purpose in providing to the teacher of industrial sociology a more useful survey of what at least *he* thinks the field ought to be, what's been done in it, and the possible application of that knowledge to social problems arising out of an industrial society.

The University of Texas

FREDERIC MEYERS

JOEL COLTON: *Compulsory Labor Arbitration in France, 1936-1939*. (New York: Columbia University, King's Crown Press, 1951, Pp., 220, \$3.25.)

Relatively little has been written here in the United States about specialized aspects of economic measures of the Third Republic in the

years immediately preceding World War II. Yet many of these measures are of tremendous importance to any effort on the part of the social scientist to evaluate causation in the fall of the Third Republic, and essential to understanding of the environment in which the Fourth Republic was conceived.

Mr. Colton's able work, then, is an extremely valuable contribution, the general value of which is enhanced by his careful analysis of the political, economic, and social factors which led France to adoption of compulsory labor arbitration, his masterly treatment of Gallic statistics (the despair of many an American scholar), and the thoroughness of his bibliographic research.

Part I of the book deals with factors and events leading up to adoption of compulsory arbitration on December 31, 1936; mediation from 1892 to 1936, the "Great Fear" of this latter year, the various proposals of employer and union groups, and the acts of 1936 and 1938 which established a permanent system.

Part II is devoted to an analysis of the system in operation; wage adjustments under both the 1936 and 1938 acts, strikes under the system, the relationship of the arbitration scheme to negotiation of initial contracts, the enforcement of arbitration decisions, the effect of the general strike of November 30, 1938 upon the system, and an evaluation.

Written in beautifully simple style, this volume will prove to be a valuable adjunct to the readings on European history, economics, and politics for both graduate and undergraduate students.

Oklahoma A. and M. College

ROBERT E. POWERS

OSCAR KRISEN BUROS, (Ed.): *Statistical Methodology Reviews, 1941-1950*. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1951, Pp., 340, \$7.00.)

The present volume is the latest of a series of statistical book review collections by the same editor, which began in 1937 and 1938. Essentially a clipping service of book reviews in the statistical field, it includes 842 excerpts from 112 journals over the ten year period preceding 1951. The reviews are limited to books in English, although the addition of reviews of books in French, German, Swedish, etc., would certainly increase its usefulness. No doubt the greatest need of statisticians is for abstracts of the statistical papers which appear in current periodicals, because it is in them that new ideas and developments first appear, and only slowly find their way into text books. But this would be a separate and laborious undertaking, and is not attempted by the Buros series. Within the range laid down, the coverage is very complete.

The several uses to which a volume of statistical book reviews can be put are listed in the preface, and are rather obvious. It is recommended as especially helpful to an instructor in choosing a statistics text book. But it will be found (as Buros himself points out) that there are "marked

differences of opinion even among the more advanced students of statistical theory in their appraisal of a particular book." This not only complicates the instructor's selection, but raises some questions about the validity of the reviewer's judgments, and about the adequacy of the samplings of opinion. One even gets the impression that the tone of a review is sometimes set by the prestige of the author, or by the statistical fad of the moment. All of this suggests the need for a sociology of knowledge by anyone who would review the reviewers.

University of Wisconsin

THOMAS C. McCORMICK

HENRY WILLIAM SPIEGEL: *Introduction to Economics*. (New York: The Blakiston Co., 1951, Pp., 605, \$5.00.)

The last half decade has witnessed the publication of a number of textbooks which have attempted more than a mere bringing up to date of economic facts and economic theories: a new method of presentation and a solution to the excessive antithesis of "theory" and "institutions". The works of Samuelson, Burns, Neal and Watson, and Morgan have by now almost become classics in the field of elementary textbooks, using this new approach.

Professor Spiegel's new text uses the macro-economic framework as a base for the presentation of institutions as well as certain parts of Marshallian economics; in this respect the book is quite similar to the above-mentioned works. But many a teacher and student will appreciate the clear and skillful method with which the author disposes of the usual difficulties of the "monetary veil" and certain problems of general equilibrium in working up to the explanation of the national income concepts and the theory of employment. Equally enlightening is the presentation of "the tasks of business leadership" and the "repercussions of newcomers' competition on the firm" which provide a good many links between theory and business policies. The weakest part of the book, as is the case with so many other introductory textbooks, is that dealing with distribution and one wonders whether the author could not have improved his presentation by completely omitting certain problems in this field rather than treating them with the superficiality imposed by the lack of space.

The same lack of space has necessitated the most sketchy presentation of even important institutional phases. The whole topic of commercial and central banking is disposed of in but twenty-seven small pages and the reader will surely not gain much understanding of the issues confronting labor in America from the few pages that form an adjunct to the presentation of wage theory. Ample reference to outside readings or to the author's companion volume "Current Economic Problems" might partially cure these shortcomings.

Throughout the text the author has shown unusual restraint in the

use of unnecessary technical jargon, and the many excellent graphs and tables as well as instructive bibliographic remarks at the end of each chapter should prove most useful.

University of San Francisco

F. A. BREIER

ARNOLD M. ROSE, (Ed.): *Race Prejudice and Discrimination*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951, Pp., 605, \$4.50.)

BREWTON BERRY: *Race Relations*. (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1951, Pp., 487, \$4.75.)

Each of these texts does a good job. The first, edited by Rose, is a book of readings, limited to the American setting. Berry, on the other hand, attempts a study of intergroup relations as such, intentionally incorporating materials from societies throughout the world.

The book of readings has the advantages and disadvantages inherent in its type. Professor Rose seeks integration by introductions to each major division and by brief statements at the head of each of the 58 selections. Although the selections were shortened, their unity is maintained, in most cases, quite successfully.

The scope of the book may be briefly indicated by citing its organization. Part I deals with American minority problems in general, containing some material on each major group. Here, and only here, is presented material upon Catholic-nonCatholic relations, a topic which should perhaps have been omitted, or, if not, given further development. Part II discusses economic, legal, political, and social discrimination. Part III contains selections on group identification and on the minority community; Part IV deals with minority characteristics and with prejudice, while the final section contains various action proposals.

A book of readings inevitably will disappoint each reader in some selections. To the reviewer, this book is weakened by the inclusion of something on nearly every minority. As a result, significance seems occasionally sacrificed to variety. The inclusion of the largely descriptive selections on such minor groups as Wisconsin Norwegians and Boston Armenians are cases in point.

On the whole, the book is well-suited for use as a supplementary text, and better-suited than most of its kind to be used alone.

Professor Berry's book is a rather rare phenomenon in textbooks. Photographs, cartoons, abundant quotations not only from sociologists but also from sources as diverse as Alan Paton, Claude McKay, and Theodore Bilbo, and the easy, often witty, always readable style, make it a book the student will want to read, even ahead of assignments.

The excellent introductory section includes historical background materials, followed by discussions on what race is and isn't, and on the nature of prejudice. The second portion consists of discussion, one by one, of the "widespread, if not universal and inevitable, phenomena"

which are the "uniformities" of race relations—conflict, annihilation and expulsion, assimilation (which he uses entirely as a cultural process, dispensing with the acculturation concept), amalgamation, segregation, and pluralism. His final section discusses domination, group cleavages, and reactions to dominance.

This book will appeal to those who, tiring of descriptive accounts of group after group, seek a processual frame of reference. Unfortunately, the organization requires that lines be drawn. One sometimes wonders why particular topics were placed here rather than there; occasionally, too, there is repetition, as when, under "domination", are repeated ideas covered in "stratification."

Strong points include objectivity, the variety of information, and the attempt to show the relation between American minority problems and those elsewhere. Professor Berry states in the preface that he offers no program, no "solution." That is true, but he has produced a book which offers the student a great deal of insight with which to evaluate any proposed program.

Oklahoma A. and M. College

JOSEPH S. VANDIVER

HAROLD U. FAULKNER: *The Decline of Laissez Faire, 1897-1917*. (New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1951, Pp., 433, \$4.50.)

During the years 1897-1917 the American economy took on the characteristics that have since become a familiar part of the American economic scene; manufacturing surpassed agriculture as the predominant form of enterprise, business forsook cut-throat competition in favor of quieter and more profitable monopolistic organization, trade unions secured a foothold in the economic life of the nation, and government assumed a wider responsibility for the welfare of its constituents. *The Decline of Laissez Faire*, which is the seventh volume of a nine volume series on the economic history of the United States, deals with these important and formative years.

Professor Faulkner has chosen to treat his subject topically rather than chronologically and therefore has separate sections devoted to finance, foreign trade and investment, population, industry, transportation, labor, and agriculture. His treatment of each section is descriptive rather than analytical. Although he handles the tremendous amount of empirical data with consummate skill, the reader is sometimes hard put to absorb them. This is particularly noticeable in the chapter on the location of industry. A location theory is implicit in the presentation of the facts about the movement of industry, but for this reviewer an explicit application of location theory to the movement of American industry would have been a more comprehensible approach to the topic. Again the chapters on the concentration of industry suffer from the lack of a conceptual framework around which the facts of concentration can be

organized. We get an excellent picture of the organization of the United States Steel Corporation and the other industrial giants at the turn of the century and of the anti-trust reaction, but we are not sure what it means. Laissez faire has declined, but has the market organization, the price system which is fundamental to competitive capitalism, been irreparably damaged by the concentration of economic power? This question has not been answered because Professor Faulkner does not make us conscious of the organizing function of the market.

Professor Faulkner has been somewhat constrained by the narrow range within which he has had to operate and this is a criticism of the series rather than this particular volume. To fully understand the peculiar features of the Federal Reserve System, for instance, one should be aware of nineteenth century banking experiences in the United States, especially the influence of the first and second United States Banks and of the National Banking Act of 1863. But Professor Faulkner has had to forego the longer historical perspective and confine himself to the events of the period 1897-1917.

The best chapters from this reviewer's standpoint are those dealing with rail transportation and organized labor. The former includes a fascinating description of the struggles among the railroad and financial tycoons for control of the nation's rail network. The latter skillfully depicts the efforts of organized labor, notably the AFL, to overcome the antagonisms of management, the law courts, and the public and to control the internecine warfare in its own camp between the left and right wing union groups. The book concludes with an excellent and comprehensive annotated bibliography covering the literature of the period.

Northwestern University

KARL DE SCHWEINITZ, JR.

HAROLD HOFFSOMMER, (Ed.): *The Social and Economic Significance of Land Tenure In the Southwestern States*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1950, Pp., 666, \$6.00.)

This voluminous work, which is the result of the combined efforts of agricultural economists and rural sociologists comprising the five Southwestern states—Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, and Mississippi—is concerned with the many factors and various angles from which the subject of land tenure may be regarded.

The stated purpose of this report of the Regional Land Tenure Research Project is "... to determine and measure the relationships between the tenure status of the farm family and its economic and social performance." It consists of eleven chapters, which are written either all or in part by nine authors including Hoffsommer himself. More specifically, the relationships between land tenure and such factors as farm organization, family status, soil conservation, use and sources of capital, impact of federal programs, and community and institutional factors are thoroughly

discussed in each separate area under observation. In addition there are chapters describing specifically leasing arrangements, landlord-tenant relationships, and tenure laws. Since the areas selected for study in the five Southwestern states vary a great deal, few generalizations are made on the details of performance for the region as a whole. In fact, one of the broad findings of the study is that "the tenure arrangements of an individual are meaningful chiefly in relation to the local environment in which the arrangements occur."

On the jacket of the book is the following statement: "With no attempt at the spectacular, the analysis moves from point to point, showing in detail the relation between tenure status and the performance of the farm family." This statement aptly describes the nature and contents of the study and the way it is handled. Of the 666 pages in the book, over one-third of the total number are devoted to appendixes, of which some 135 pages are devoted to tables alone. These may be overlooked by the general reader but are necessary reference material for the student of the problem. Further aids to the reader are the summaries at the end of each chapter, and the concluding chapter is a summary of the entire book. In all probability, the work is the most comprehensive that has been written on the subject.

It may be noted that on some questions the size of sample is so small as to preclude the determination of true interrelationships. The variety of data obtained obviously resulted in the use of an extremely long schedule in relation to the total sample. Within these stated limitations, however, the study does a good job of analysis of three general types of questions: "(1) What differences in the social and economic performance of farm families are incident to their tenure status? (2) What are the chief factors conditioning the particular tenure status of a farm family? (3) What are the underlying factors which influence tenure status and how are they related to individual farm families?"

The book is well worth the attention of professional people and of all others interested in the social and economic problems of land tenure.

Texas A. & M. College

R. L. SKRABANEK

G. LOWELL FIELD: *Governments in Modern Society*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1951, Pp., 554, \$4.50.)

ROBERT G. NEUMANN: *European and Comparative Government*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1951, Pp., 730, \$5.00.)

These volumes are recent additions to the growing McGraw-Hill *Series in Political Science*. Although both are designated by their authors as texts in comparative government, Professor Field's treatment varies far enough from standard presentations in that area to raise the question whether he has not actually ventured into a different though related division of political science.

Professor Neumann adopts the standard method of treating in detail the governments of Great Britain, France, Germany and the Soviet Union. He follows these four descriptive parts with a fifth section in which he draws some general conclusions about modern government, based primarily on the previously described political organizations and adding comparisons with areas not treated separately. The material on the four governments is well-balanced and the descriptions are clear and straightforward. Each section is preceded by a brief historical sketch for which the author makes an unnecessary apology.

In so lengthy a volume, minor mistakes are inevitable, and opportunities for taking issue on particular interpretations are frequent. One or two examples may be cited: In an otherwise complete listing of contemporary political leaders in the countries, the reader is left with the reins of the English Liberal Party in the hands of Sir Percy Harris whereas, in fact, Clement Davies has for several years been in the driver's seat. The author also fails to acknowledge Churchill's part in hastening the precipitous election of 1945, laying the responsibility entirely on the Labor Party.

For a text of this size, the major factors stand out well in an environment of considerable detail. In the discussion of England, the reader is impressed with the sympathetic feeling that the writer has for the working democratic arrangement in that country and for the attributes of British character which make the institutions function. For Germany, the author conveys equally well the constants contributing to autocratic rule. This facility for weaving a subtle theme through sound descriptive passages may be attributed to the excellent theoretical background possessed by Professor Neumann.

Professor Field, in his preface, expresses dissatisfaction with the "country by country" approach to comparative government. Instead, he feels that the major emphasis should be on generalizations about governments under different social conditions and on forms alternative to one's own governmental usages. Consequently, his entire text may be said to be an enlargement on Neumann's concluding section. Part I gives the background of modern politics; the second section surveys institutions in constitutional democracies (primarily English-speaking areas); the third describes modern totalitarian systems; and the last portion relates briefly the extension of democratic forms to post-war Italy, France, Germany and Japan. An analytical technique, characterized by thoroughness, is used throughout.

Field's treatment seems on the whole more suitable for courses in "Principles of Politics" (or similarly designated fields) than for those in comparative government. The student of contemporary politics should have access to courses containing Professor Field's orientation. The key question is whether this type of work should be introductory to politics or a final summary. On the other hand, every political scientist should

be exposed, as a minimum, to precise elaborations of the British and Russian systems as representing the ultimate in contrasts among foreign governments. Consequently, a reconciliation seems possible between the two approaches—a reconciliation based on pre-eminent need of *both* methods.

On the whole, Professor Neumann's book probably accomplishes its purpose more fully than Professor Field's. This achievement is not by virtue of any intrinsic superiority, for both are suitable texts. It is rather that the competition of Finer, MacIver, Wilson, Friedrich, etc., is keener than that offered Neumann by standard texts in comparative government.

Northwestern State College of Louisiana

WILLIAM C. HAVARD

Other Books Received

Allen, Florence Ellinwood: *The Treaty as an Instrument of Legislation*. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1952, Pp., 112, \$1.75.)

Amato, Pedro Muñoz: *La Educación de los Servidores Públicos*. (University of Puerto Rico, School of Public Administration, 1952, Pp., 22, NP.)

Anderson, Eugene N.: *Process versus Powers Studies in Modern Culture*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1952, Pp., 136, NP.)

The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science: *Ethical Standards in American Public Life*. (Philadelphia: 1952, Pp., 248, \$2.00.)

Barnes, Harry Elmer: *Society in Transition*. (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1952, Pp., 835, \$6.00.)

Beaty, John: *The Iron Curtain over America*. (Dallas, Texas: Wilkinson Publishing Co., 1951, Pp., 234, \$3.00.)

Boone, Lalia Phipps: *The Petroleum Dictionary*. (Norman: University Oklahoma Press, 1952, Pp., 338, \$5.00.)

Brown, Francis J. and Roucek, Joseph S. (Eds.): *One America* (Third Edition). (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1952, Pp., 750, \$5.00.)

Burns, James M., and Peltason, Jack W.: *Government by the People*. (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1952, Pp., 907, \$5.50.)

Carter, Edward W. and Rohlfing, Charles C.: *The American Government and its Work*. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952, Pp., 856, \$6.00.)

Clark, Floyd Barzilia: *Handbook for an International Money*. (Bryan, Texas: The Eagle Printing Co., Inc., 1951, Pp., 193, \$2.25.)

Commission for Reorganization: *Report on the Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Government of Puerto Rico*. (San Juan, Puerto Rico: 1949, Pp., 179, NP.)

Committee on Functions and Resources of State Government: *Final Reports Findings and Recommendations*. (Frankfort, Kentucky, December, 1951, Pp., 63, NP.)

Commonwealth of Kentucky: *County Health Program*. (Frankfort: Legislative Research Commission, 1951, Pp., 43, NP.)

Commonwealth of Kentucky: *Education, The Finance Problem*. (Frankfort: Legislative Research Commission, 1952, Pp., 43, NP.)

Commonwealth of Kentucky: *Education: Pupil Transportation*. (Frankfort: Legislative Research Commission, 1951, Pp., 46, NP.)

Commonwealth of Kentucky: *Education: Textbook Selection*. (Frankfort: Legislative Research Commission, 1951, Pp., 35, NP.)

Commonwealth of Kentucky: *Kentucky Highway Systems and the State Department of Highways*. (Frankfort: Legislative Commission, 1951, Pp., 97, NP.)

Commonwealth of Kentucky: *Taxation: License and Privilege*. (Frankfort: Legislative Research Commission, 1951, Pp., 15, NP.)

Commonwealth of Kentucky: *Taxation: Selected Sales-Gross Receipts*. (Frankfort: Legislative Research Commission, 1951, Pp., 21, NP.)

Commonwealth of Kentucky: *Vocational Education*. (Frankfort: Legislative Research Commission, 1952, Pp., 51, NP.)

Commonwealth of Kentucky: *Welfare: Mental Hospitals*. (Frankfort: Legislative Research Commission, 1951, Pp., 27, NP.)

Commonwealth of Kentucky: *Welfare: The Training Home*. (Frankfort: Legislative Research Commission, 1951, Pp., 15, NP.)

Commonwealth of Kentucky: *Welfare: Public Assistance*. (Frankfort: Legislative Research Commission, 1952, Pp., 27, NP.)

De Jouvenel, Bertrand: *The Ethics of Redistribution*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1952, Pp. 91, \$1.75.)

Dennon, Lester E.: *Bertrand Russell's Dictionary of Mind, Matter, and Morals*. (New York: Philosophical Library, 1952, Pp., 280, \$5.00.)

Flumiani, Carlo Maria: *Basic Precepts on the Physiology and Pathology of Leadership*. (Santa Clara, California: Institute of Political and Economic Studies, 1952, Pp., 38, \$1.00.)

Fossum, Paul R.: *Principles of Economic Development*. (Tacoma, Washington: The College Press, 1952, Pp., 240, \$3.00.)

Freedman, Ronald, and associates: *Principles of Sociology*. (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1952, Pp., 654, \$5.25.)

Galenson, Walter (Ed.): *Comparative Labor Movements*. (New York: Prentice-Hall, Pp., 579, \$6.50.)

Gambus, John S.: *Man, Money and Goods*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952, Pp., 332, \$3.75.)

Girvetz, Harry K.: *From Wealth to Welfare*. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1950, Pp., 317, \$5.00.)

Heady, Ferrel: *Administrative Procedure in Legislation in the States*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1952, Pp., 131, \$1.00.)

Isaacs, Harold R. and Ross, Emory: *Africa: New Crises in the Making*. (Headline Series). (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1952, Pp., 62, \$.35.)

Lane, Robert C.: *Problems in American Government*. (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1952, Pp., 373, \$2.85.)

Leek, John H.: *Government and Labor in the United States*. (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1952, Pp., 295, \$3.00.)

Library of Congress, European Affairs Division: *Introduction to Africa*. (Washington, D. C.: The University Press of Washington, 1952, Pp., 288, \$1.75.)

MacCorkle, Stuart A. and Smith, Dick: *Texas Government* (2nd edition). (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1952, Pp., 490, \$4.50.)

New Mexico: Directory of Towns, Basic Economic Data. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, Bureau of Business Research, 1950, Pp., 71, \$.50.)

The New Salary Freezing Regulations. (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952, Pp., 64, NP.)

Newman, Philip Charles: *The Development of Economic Thought*. (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1952, Pp., 439, NP.)

Paton, William A. and William A., Jr.: *Asset Accounting*. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952, Pp., 542, \$5.00.)

Penniman, Howard R.: *Sait's American Parties and Elections* (5th edition). (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1952, Pp., 561, \$5.00.)

Reed, Thomas H. and Doris D.: *Preparing College Men and Women for Politics*. (New York: The Citizenship Clearing House, 1952, Pp., 180, NP.)

Revista de Estudios Politicos (Volumen XXXVI). (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Politicos, 1951, Pp., 304, NP.)

Reimer, Neal: *Problems of American Government*. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1952, Pp., 356, \$2.75.)

Ries, Estelle H.: *Elias E. Ries, Inventor*. (New York: Philosophical Library, 1952, Pp., 360, \$4.75.)

Ropke, Wilhelm: *The Economics of Full Employment*. (New York: American Enterprise Association, 1952, Pp., 181, \$3.00.)

Runes, Dagobert D.: *Of God, the Devil and the Jews*. (New York: Philosophical Library, 1952, Pp., 181, \$3.00.)

Schramfer, William H.: *Law in its Application to Business* (Revised Edition). (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1952, Pp., 1074, \$7.50.)

Shotwell, James T. (Ed.): *Governments of Continental Europe* (Revised Edition). (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1952, Pp., 868, \$6.00.)

Smith, T. Lynn, and Hitt, Homer L.: *The People of Louisiana*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, Pp., 264, \$5.00.)

Stockton, John R., and Arbingast, Stanley A.: *Water Requirements Survey, Texas High Plains*. (Austin, Texas: The University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, Pp., 88, \$2.00.)

Swarthout, John M., and Bartley, Ernest R.: *Principles and Problems of American National Government*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951, Pp., 666, \$4.25.)

Tenenbaum, Joseph: *Underground: Story of a People*. (New York: Philosophical Library, 1952, Pp., 515, \$4.50.)

Tippett, Leonard H. C. (Ed.): *Applied Statistics* (A Journal of the Royal Statistical Society). (London: Oliver and Boyd, Ltd., 1952, Pp., 80, \$1.40.)

Van Riper, Paul P.: *Handbook of Practical Politics*. (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1952, Pp., 214, \$1.60.)

Weiler, E. T.: *The Economic System*. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952, Pp., 852, \$5.75.)

Wilcox, Francis O. and Kalijarvi, Thorsten V.: *Recent American Foreign Policy*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1952, Pp., 919, \$6.50.)

The Association

The 1952 annual convention of the Southwestern Social Science Association was held at Dallas, Texas, April 10-12. The following program was presented:

Friday Morning, April 11

Accounting Section

Chairman: John A. White, University of Texas

1. *"Accounting Methods for Income Taxation,"* Roland W. Porth, Southern Methodist University
Discussion Leader: Truxton L. Shaw, Southern Methodist University
2. Panel Discussion: *"Teaching Federal Income Tax Accounting and Procedures"*
Panel: Charles T. Zlatkovich, Chairman, University of Texas
J. Marvin Sipe, University of Houston
Reginald Rushing, Texas Technological College
Othel D. Westfall, University of Oklahoma

Agricultural Economics—Economics

Chairman: Woodrow W. Pate, Centenary College

GENERAL TOPIC: "Regionalism in an Integrated Economy"

1. Principal Papers: Joseph L. Fisher, Council of Economic Advisers
Stephen L. McDonald, University of Texas
2. Discussion: Clay L. Cochran, University of Oklahoma
R. B. Melton, North Texas State College
Bureau of Business Research Section

Chairman: P. F. Boyer, Louisiana State University

ROUND-TABLE DISCUSSION: *"Cooperative Regional Research in Business and Economics"*

Panel Members and Topics:

- "Regional Economic Research,"* Hubert Baughn, Louisiana State University
- "United States Bureau of Reclamation,"* Stanley A. Arbingast, University of Texas
- "Southern Regional Education Board,"* P. F. Boyer, Louisiana State University
- "Current Developments in the Southeast,"* Henry B. Moore, University of Alabama

Geography Section

Chairman: Walter Hansen, North Texas State College

1. *"A Comparison Between Dairying in Wisconsin-Illinois and Southwestern Puerto Rico,"* Arthur H. Doerr, University of Oklahoma
2. *"1950 Population Census in Oklahoma: Some Preliminary Observations,"* Ralph E. Olson, University of Oklahoma
3. *"A Report on the Significance of Sidewalk Farmers in the Wheat Belt of Western Kansas,"* Walter M. Kollmorgan, University of Kansas
4. *"Report on Plans for the Washington International Meetings,"* Edwin J. Foscoe, Southern Methodist University

Government Section

Chairman: Sam B. McAlister, North Texas State College

GENERAL TOPIC: "The Tidelands Oil Controversy"

1. *"The Problem of the Continental Shelf,"* W. E. Benton, Southern Methodist University
2. *"Constitutional and Political Issues Over Tidelands Oil,"* Robert J. Harris, Louisiana State University
Discussant: J. William Davis, Texas Technological College

History Section

Chairman: J. Y. Gates, Sam Houston State Teachers College

1. "*The First Secretary of Defense*," R. Earl McClendon, United States Air Force
Discussant: J. M. Nance, Texas A. and M. College
2. "*An Historical Perspective of Land Erosion in Ellis County, Texas*," W. J. Hammond, Texas Christian University
Discussant: George R. Wollfolk, Prairie View A. and M. College
3. "*The Chinese Communists' War on the Chinese Family*," Edward K. T. Chen, University of Houston
Discussant: Joe J. Mickle, Centenary College

Sociology Section

Chairman: Austin L. Porterfield, Texas Christian University

GENERAL TOPICS: "Crime and Criminology"

1. "*Mid-Century Crime in Our Culture: A Decade of Differentials in Trends and Patterns in 86 Selected Cities*," Robert H. Talbert, Texas Christian University
2. "*Sociopathic Conditions, the Social Structure, and Culture Values*," a panel
Participants:
Warren Breed, Tulane University
Rupert C. Koeninger, Sam Houston State Teacher's College
John P. McKinsey, Southern Methodist University
Roger W. Nett, Oklahoma A. and M. College

Chairman: Mattie Lloyd Wooten, Texas State College for Women

GENERAL TOPIC: "Family Relations"

1. "*The Relationship of Marital Status to Incidence of and Recovery from Mental Illness*," Leta M. Adler, University of Arkansas
2. "*Family and Marital Background of 1000 First Time Inmates of the Texas Prison System*," Rupert C. Koeninger, Sam Houston State Teacher's College
3. "*Education for Marriage in Southern Colleges; A Report of a Survey Made by the Committee on the Teaching of Sociology of the Southern Sociological Society*," Marion B. Smith, Louisiana State University
4. Discussion by Bardin Nelson, Texas A. and M. College

Friday Afternoon, April 11

Accounting Section

Chairman: D. W. Curry, Southern Methodist University

1. "*Special Accounting Problems of the Natural Gas Industry*," I. E. McNeill, University of Texas
Discussion Leader: Othel D. Westfall, Oklahoma University
2. "*Avoid Peculation, Don't Encourage It*," W. P. Carr, Loyola University
Discussion Leader: James F. Goodman, Baylor University
3. "*Validity of the Cost Principle in Accounting*," Clarence L. Dunn, Louisiana State University
Discussion Leader: Henry Key, Texas Christian University

Business Administration Section

Chairman: Ellis M. Sowell, Texas Christian University

1. "*Trends in Communications in Industry*," Ruth I. Anderson, Texas Christian University
2. "*A Modern Corporation Studies Its Correspondence*," Nelda R. Lawrence, University of Houston
3. "*Industry Looks at Communications as a Phase of Human Relations*," R. B. Craig, Training Supervisor, Consolidated-Vultee Aircraft Corporation

Bureau of Business Research Section

ROUND-TABLE DISCUSSION: "Organization for Measuring and Reporting on Business Conditions in the Southwest"

Discussion Leader: Francis Cella, University of Oklahoma

Panel Members and Topics:

"*Measuring Business Cycles in Texas*," Fred W. Norwood, Texas Technological College

"*Measuring Business Cycles in New Mexico*," Alan D. Carey, University of New Mexico

Discussion

Formation of organization for release of periodic summaries of business conditions in the Southwest

Economics Section

Chairman: Harold A. Shapiro, University of Texas

GENERAL TOPIC: "The Committee on the Southwest Economy"

Panel:

Clarence E. Ayres, University of Texas

Joseph L. Fisher, Council of Economic Advisers

Robert W. French, Tulane University

Watrous H. Irons, Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas

Raymond D. Thomas, Oklahoma A. and M. College

Nathaniel Wollman, University of New Mexico

Geography Section

Chairman: Walter Hansen, North Texas State College

1. "*School Journeys In and Around Dallas*," Uleta Williams, Dallas Public Schools
2. "*Views of the Southwest*" (colored slides), Robert A. Miller, North Texas State College
3. "*The Changing Economic Geography of Post-War Germany*," George W. Hoffman, University of Texas

Government Section

Chairman: Wilfred D. Webb, University of Texas

GENERAL TOPIC: "Panel on Pre-entry Education for the Public Service"

Participants:

Robert J. Harris, Louisiana State University

James K. Sours, University of Wichita

Edwin O. Stene, University of Kansas

H. V. Thornton, University of Oklahoma

History Section

Chairman: G. W. McGinty, Louisiana Technological College

SYMPOSIUM: History Teaching in the Colleges

1. "*What History is Being Taught in the Colleges*," L. A. McGee, Sam Houston State Teacher's College
2. "*The Use of Original Sources in the Teaching of History*," T. H. Reynolds, Oklahoma A. and M. College
3. "*Mark Twain and the Teaching of History*"—A Demonstration, Charles W. Merrifield, assisted by John Crandall and Burl Teague, University of Denver

Sociology Section

Chairman: Tilman C. Cothran, Agricultural, Mechanical, and Normal College

GENERAL TOPIC: "Minority Groups"

1. "*The Effect of Southern White Migrants on Race Relations in Northern Factories*," Lewis M. Killien, University of Oklahoma.
2. "*Race Relations: An Ecological Study in Texas*," Charles D. Johnson, Baylor University

3. *"The Acquisition of Racial Status: A Theoretical Note on the Formation of the Self,"* Forrest E. Laviolette and associate, Tulane University
4. *"Assimilation of the Japanese in Houston, Texas,"* Bardin H. Nelson and Melvin S. Brooks, Texas A. and M. College

Social Science Introductory Course

Chairman: Herbert R. Mundhenke, Texas Christian University

GENERAL TOPIC: "What the Introductory Social Science Course Should Seek to Accomplish"

1. *"Criteria for the Introduction to the Social Sciences Course,"* Robert E. Powers, Oklahoma A. and M. College
2. *"Teaching Methods in a General Education Program in the Social Sciences,"* John Perryman, University of Colorado
3. *"The Cooperative Study of Evaluation in General Education of the American Council on Education; the Social Science Area,"* Golda Crawford, Kansas State College

Friday Evening, April 11

Conference Dinner

Presiding: H. R. Mundhenke, Texas Christian University, First Vice-President

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS: *"Unity, or the Lack of It, in the Social Sciences,"* Vernon G. Sorrell, University of New Mexico, President

CONFERENCE ADDRESS: *"The Sales Problem in Education,"* John Ise, University of Kansas

Saturday Morning, April 12

General Business Meeting, 8:00 A.M.

Accounting Section

Chairman: W. Fred Farrar, Texas A. and M. College

1. *"Grading the American Institute of Accountants Uniform CPA Examinations,"* Leo Herbert, Louisiana Polytechnic Institute
- Discussion Leader: Zeb Freeman, Southern Methodist University
2. Panel Discussion: "What is a Good Examination?"

Panel Members:

Paul J. Graber, Chairman, University of Tulsa
 Burl Austin, Oklahoma A. and M.
 Tom Leland, Texas A. and M. College
 Tom Rose, North Texas State College
 A. J. Penz, University of Alabama

Business Administration Section

Chairman: C. L. Littlefield, North Texas State College

1. *"Suggestions for Better Qualifying of Business Graduates Entering the Labor Market—From the Viewpoint of the Texas Employment Commission,"* N. J. Rogers, Texas Employment Commission, Dallas
2. *"My Collegiate Business Administration Program—Appraised Four Years After Graduation,"* John P. Thompson, The Southland Corporation, Dallas
3. *"Areas Where Business Can Render Greater Service to Collegiate Schools of Business—An Educator's View,"* Eugene H. Hughes, University of Houston

Bureau of Business Research Section

Chairman: Henry B. Moore, University of Alabama

1. *"The New Division of Research at Texas Christian University,"* Leland W. McCloud, Texas Christian University
2. *"The Importance of the New Printing Methods to the Publication Programs of Bureaus of Business Research,"* John R. Stockton, University of Texas.

3. Round Table discussion of publication programs of Bureaus of Business Research

Economics Section

Chairman: Eleanor J. Robinson, Baylor University

1. "*Economic Stabilization and National Policy*," Alfred L. Seelye, Office of Price Stabilization
2. Discussion: Leland J. Gordon, Louisiana State University
3. "*Wage Stabilization and the Labor Market*," J. C. Clamp, Jr., Wage Stabilization Board
4. Discussion: Frederic Meyers, University of Illinois
5. "*The National Debt and Economic Stability*," Aurelius Morgner, Texas A. and M. College
6. Discussion: W. H. Baughn, Louisiana State University

Geography Section

Chairman: Walter Hansen, North Texas State College

1. "*The Llano Basin of Central Texas*," William T. Chambers, Stephen F. Austin State Teacher's College
2. "*Early Mining in the Famous Potosi, Bolivia, Silver Mine*," Mrs. Robert Bogarte, Jr., Southern Methodist University
3. "*Evolution of Cuba's Land Tenure System*," Robert B. Batchelder, Stephen F. Austin State Teacher's College
4. "*The New Orleans Metropolitan Region*," Alexander I. Warrington, Loyola University

Government—History

Chairman: Rupert N. Richardson, Hardin-Simmons University

GENERAL TOPIC: "The Recent British Elections"

1. "*The British Isolationist Attitude: An Example of the 1930's*," J. Claude Roberts, University of Texas
2. "*Six Months of the Churchill Government*," M. L. E. Priesack, British Vice-Consul in Dallas
3. Discussion: Paul H. Heppe, Chairman, Kansas State College

Sociology Section

Chairman: Harry E. Moore, University of Texas

GENERAL TOPIC: "Ecology and Regionalism"

1. "*Sociology and Community Planning*," Leonard Logan, University of Oklahoma
2. "*Ecological Schism and Symbiosis*," Walter Firey, University of Texas
3. "*Regional Sociology as a Special Discipline*," Alvin L. Bertrand, Louisiana State University

Chairman: Walter T. Watson, Southern Methodist University

GENERAL TOPIC: "Urban Sociology"

Panel: Recent Developments in Urban Sociology—sub-fields for discussion
 Index of Moral Integration in Cities (Angell)
 Suburbanization (Whetten)
 Urban Demography (United States Census)
 Localization of Groups and Facilities within Metropolitan Areas (Koos and Foley)
 Index of Urbanism (Carpenter)

Participants: Stuart A. Queen, Leader, Washington University

Earl Lomon Koos, University of Rochester

J. J. Rhyne, University of Oklahoma

G. Sjoberg, University of Texas

Recent Research on "Trends in Aging with Special Emphasis on the Urban Population" (Rhyne) and "Present State of Urban Sociology" (Sjoberg)

Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Council
Dallas, April 10, 1952

The Executive Council met at 7:30 p.m. on April 10, 1952, at the Baker Hotel. All members were present except Wade Hartrick, Ralph Russell, C. A. Wiley, Ellis Sowell, John Stockton, and Walter Hansen.

The Council voted to recommend to the incoming Executive Council that the Association meet at the Baker Hotel in 1953 and that invitations be entertained from other cities for 1954.

Dr. W. M. Pritchett, chairman of the Endowment Committee, led a discussion on the trust agreement for the proposed Southwestern Social Science Association Foundation. The Executive Council voted to recommend to the general business meeting that the proposed foundation be formed as early as possible. It was agreed that Dr. Sorrell should suggest a list of nominees for consideration as trustees.

The matter of honoraria payments to Convention speakers was discussed. The consensus of the group was to the effect that the Association's financial status does not permit payments to section speakers.

The *Quarterly* was discussed at considerable length. The group decided to recommend that the Editor expand the size of the next four issues to the extent possible under a \$3,000 expenditure.

Other items on the agenda were the following:

1. General review of the committees.
2. General review of the sections.
3. Selection of a secretary-treasurer.
4. Procedure for the nomination and election of officers.
5. Type of report to be made at annual meeting by the President.

The Council adjourned.

Minutes of the General Business Meeting
Dallas, April 12, 1952

The minutes of the Executive Council meeting held on April 10, 1952, were read.

The secretary-treasurer reported that the year-end cash balance and number of individual memberships indicate that the Association has strengthened its position during the year. Memberships as of April 7, 1952 by classes were given as follows:

Individual memberships	476
Life memberships	12
Library subscriptions (not counting multiple subscriptions from several libraries)	170
Institutional memberships	14

The secretary reported that the sections had elected the following officers:

Accounting

Chairman	E. Burl Austin Oklahoma A. & M. College
Editor	Lloyd Morrison Louisiana State University

Agricultural Economics

Chairman	Archie L. Leonard Texas Technological College
Editor	L. A. Parcher Oklahoma A. & M. College

Business Administration

Chairman	Jean D. Neal Sam Houston State College
Editor	Glenn L. Hodge Louisiana Polytechnic Institute

Business Research

Chairman and Editor	Ralph L. Edgel University of New Mexico
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Economics

Chairman	Clay L. Cochran University of Oklahoma
Editor	Woodrow W. Pate Centenary College

Geography

Chairman	Nason N. Duncan Northeast State College
Editor	William T. Chambers Stephen F. Austin State College

Government

Chairman	Rufus G. Hall, Jr. University of Oklahoma
Editor	Dick Smith Tarleton State College

History

Chairman	G. W. McGinty Louisiana Polytechnic Institute
Editor	W. C. Nunn Texas Christian University

Sociology

Chairman	Marion B. Smith Louisiana State University
Editor	Walter Firey University of Texas

The following report of the Audit Committee was made by Lloyd L. Morrison, chairman, and it was approved by formal vote:

We have examined the records of the Southwestern Social Science Association and the accompanying statement of receipts and disbursements. Such auditing procedures were employed as were deemed adequate and feasible under the circumstances. All of the evidence indicates that the records were accurately, honestly and efficiently kept and that the Association is being managed with a high degree of efficiency.

The statement of income and expense for the period of March 15, 1951 to March 16, 1952 is as follows:

Cash Balance on March 15, 1951			\$ 752.10
Individual memberships		\$1,955.00	
Library subscriptions		788.00	
Institutional memberships	\$280.00		
Contribution of Univ. of Oklahoma to Printer of <i>Quarterly</i>	225.00	505.00	
		<hr/>	
Sale of back issues of <i>Quarterly</i>		37.00	
Display space at Convention		500.00	
Advertising in <i>Quarterly</i>		185.50	
		<hr/>	
Total Receipts			\$3,970.50
Payments:			
<i>Quarterly</i> expenses:			
March 1951 issue	\$596.12		
June 1951 issue	516.67		
Sept. 1951 issue	517.89		
Dec. 1951 issue	648.93		
Stencils, cutting stencils, addressing wrappers	69.84		
Wrappers	62.73	\$2,412.18	
		<hr/>	

1951 Convention expenses:

Display space at Hotel	\$ 20.00	
Expenses of President Waller	10.00	
Signs	7.88	
Printed programs (750)	100.00	
Mimeographed programs	7.00	
Expenses of General program Chairman	42.91	
Publicity	8.80	
Complimentary banquet tickets	6.35	202.94

Expenses of Secretary-Treasurer:

To Austin Convention and to Dallas to help plan for 1952 Convention	\$119.73	
Postage	77.00	
Stationery and office supplies	113.79	
Clerical expenses	211.00	521.52
Postage for Book Review Editor		24.31
Stationery for officers		70.64
Expenses of President Sorrell to Dallas to plan 1952 Convention		87.21
Railway express charges		7.00

Total Payments 3,325.80

Excess of Receipts over
Payments for the year

644.70

Cash Balance on March 15, 1952

\$1,396.80

By formal vote the Association approved the following report of the Editor of the *Quarterly*, Oliver Benson.

During the publication year just completed, June 1951-March 1952, the four issues of Volume XXXII of the *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* were published. The volume includes 302 numbered pages, besides the cover pages and the six pages of the annual cumulative contents.

During the year twenty-one articles were published in the journal. Of these, sixteen were by authors from the Southwestern region, and five by authors from outside the region. Nine articles dealt with topics chiefly of regional content, while twelve were on general subjects. It should be noted that this is a slightly larger proportion of articles on general topics than in the previous volume, a difference partly accounted for by the publication of four articles on social sciences, social scientists, and the teaching of social sciences.

The several disciplines represented by the articles were as follows: Economics—4, Government—4, Social Sciences (general)—4, Geography—3, History—2, Agricultural Economics—2, Business Administration—1, Business Research—1.

The book review section, reflecting the high quality of Dr. H. Malcolm MacDonald's editorial supervision, published seventy major reviews, besides the lists of books received.

The Editor again invites attention to the *Quarterly's* advertising space. Four and one-half pages were sold this year, a gain of two pages over last year. The two additional pages represent one hundred dollars in revenue, and it is hoped that more development of this source of funds in the future will permit resumption of the prewar standard of publishing an annual volume of approximately 400 pages. In this connection, attention is invited to the advertising rates, which are: Single page—\$30; half-page—\$18.50; outside back cover—\$50; inside back cover—\$40.

The Editor wishes to express special appreciation to the associate editors for the several disciplines, whose painstaking and critical work on the manuscripts has made his task easier; to the book review editor—Dr. H. Malcolm Macdonald, for his scholarly development of that department; to Dean George T. Walker, who as Secretary-Treasurer of the Association has been most generous of his time and effort in assuming this year the complete custody of the complicated problem of preparing the mailing list for the journal each quarter; and to the members who have submitted manuscripts for publication.

W. M. Pritchett, chairman of the Endowment Committee, presented a plan for the organization and operation of a trust fund for the purpose of disseminating information by publishing selected manuscripts. After considerable discussion, the plan was approved by unanimous vote. The plan is as follows:

WHEREAS, the Southwestern Social Science Association desires to further the dissemination of knowledge; and

WHEREAS, it is evident that there is a need for the creation of a fund for the purpose of disseminating information by publishing certain selected manuscripts as herein designated; NOW, THEREFORE,

In order to establish the trust hereby created, the Southwestern Social Science Association gives to the Board of Trustees the sum of \$10.00, and to their successors, in trust, to be held, managed, administered, and disposed of, as well as all additions thereto and all income thereinto forever, for the purposes, in the manner, and upon the terms herein expressly provided, namely:

ARTICLE I

1. The name of this trust shall be Southwestern Social Science Association Foundation.

2. The trust shall have perpetual existence.

ARTICLE II

1. The trustees of this trust shall be five in number, elected by majority vote of the members present and voting at the annual general meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association. Each trustee shall hold office for a term of five years and until his successor is named and assumes office; except the first trustees selected at the first annual meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association after this foundation is established shall be selected as follows:

- One trustee for a term of one year;
- One trustee for a term of two years;
- One trustee for a term of three years;
- One trustee for a term of four years;
- One trustee for a term of five years.

2. Any vacancy or vacancies among the trustees, however arising, whether by death, by resignation, or otherwise, shall be filled at the next annual meeting by the majority vote of the members of the Southwestern Social Science Association present and voting.

3. The trustees shall meet at least once in each calendar year, at such time and place as the Southwestern Social Science Association has its annual meeting, and at such other times and places as the trustees may themselves decide.

4. The presence of three or more trustees shall constitute a quorum in any meeting to do business, and less than three may only adjourn a meeting until a quorum is present.

5. The affirmative vote of a majority of a quorum shall be necessary and sufficient at any meeting to authorize any action by the trustees.

6. The trustees shall adopt such other procedural rules and regulations as they deem necessary for the orderly conduct of their affairs in the administration of this trust.

7. The trustees shall keep a clear, accurate, full, and detailed account of all the properties and dealings in the trust, and likewise a full and detailed record of all proceedings and transactions.

8. The trustees shall select annually from their number a Chairman, a Vice Chairman, and a Secretary-Treasurer.

9. The trustees shall submit an annual report in writing to the annual meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association.

10. The trustees shall be responsible to and subject to the directions of the annual meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association in all matters of general policy.

11. The office of the trust shall be Dallas, Texas.

12. None of the trustees shall receive any compensation for his services, but the trustees may be reimbursed out of trust funds by the annual meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association for all valid expenses incurred by them in connection with their administration of the trust.

13. No trustee shall be required to give any bond or security for the faithful performance of his duty as trustee hereunder.

14. The trustees shall select the most scholarly manuscripts from the ones submitted to them, for printing and distribution. The number and selection of such manuscript or manuscripts are to be in the sole discretion of the trustees.

15. The trustees shall arrange for the printing and distribution of the manuscripts so selected, to such: libraries, colleges, and universities in the Southwest; libraries of leading universities and colleges in the United States; persons, firms, or corporations; as shall be selected in the sole discretion of the trustees. The trustees shall also make copies of the selected manuscripts available to members of the Southwestern Social Science Association who request them. The trustees' discretion is to be guided by the object of increasing knowledge in the field of social science.

ARTICLE III

1. The trustees shall have every power and authority over the trust estate that they would have if, as individuals, they were the absolute owners thereof, limited only by the terms of this instrument.

2. Without in any way limiting or restricting the generality of the foregoing provision, the trustees shall have powers as follows with reference to any and each gift made hereunder:

a. To invest and reinvest any and all moneys in common or preferred stocks of any corporation and to sell same.

b. To invest and reinvest any and all moneys in real and/or personal property of any character in their absolute discretion.

c. To retain any and all real and/or personal property which may come into their hands in the form and condition in which it may be; or to sell and/or exchange all or any of the same if and whenever they shall deem advisable.

d. To sell, lease (for such periods as they shall deem for the best interest of the Foundation), convey, transfer, or exchange all or any real and/or personal property at such prices and/or for such other considerations and upon such terms and conditions as they shall deem advisable.

e. To manage, care for, and control the trust fund.

f. To consent to the extension, refunding, or renewal of any security, obligation, lien, contract, or right.

g. To make, execute, and deliver proper receipts, bills of sale, conveyances, assignments, transfers, proxies, powers of attorneys, agreements, and other instruments of writing as they shall deem advisable in the management and control of the securities and property constituting the trust estate.

h. In addition to the foregoing, the trustees hereunder shall have any and all powers set forth in the Texas Trust Act.

i. The trustees are authorized and empowered to pay out of principal or income any and all taxes which may become payable from time to time under the laws of the United States or of any state or legal subdivision of any state on the trust property or any income therefrom.

j. The trustees are authorized and empowered to pay out of the income or principal of this trust the expenses incident to the publication and distribution of the papers selected in the manner set out in Article II, Subsections Nos. 14 and 15.

k. The trustees are authorized and empowered to employ attorneys, accountants, agents, and brokers reasonably necessary in the administration of the trust estate.

ARTICLE IV

1. This trust is created and shall be administered and operated exclusively for the advancement of knowledge in the field of social science.

ARTICLE V

1. In carrying out the purposes of this trust, the trustees shall pay, apply, divide, donate, give and distribute the trust funds in conformity with the purpose of the trust in the following manner:

There is hereby created out of the body of this trust one general fund, into which all property and income herefrom coming into the trust shall be placed, and out of which all payments, donations, and distributions shall be made.

ARTICLE VI

1. The expenses incident to the administration of this trust shall be paid out of the trust estate.

2. The trustees shall be chargeable only with such funds and property as they respectively shall actually receive, and shall be answerable only for their own acts, receipts and defaults and not for those of each other, or any banker, broker, depository or other party with whom or into whose hands any funds or properties of the trust shall be placed, deposited, or come, nor for the insufficiency or depreciation of any funds, securities or properties, nor otherwise for any involuntary loss, nor for the act or default of any agent or employee selected with reasonable discretion. In no event and under no circumstances is any trustee to be answerable except for his own willful default or gross negligence.

3. No trust company, bank, banker, safe deposit company or other person with which the trustees may place any funds or property belonging to the trust shall be under any obligation or liability whatsoever except to the trustees, and any and every one of them is authorized to make, and shall be fully protected in making, disposition of any such funds or property in accordance with the direction of any officer, agent or employee authorized and empowered by the trustees, or in accordance with the directions of the trustees.

ARTICLE VII

1. This trust shall be revocable by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the Southwestern Social Science Association present and voting at any annual business meeting, provided the proposal for revocation shall have been proposed by a majority of the Executive Council or by fifteen or more members and submitted to the membership by publication in the *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, the official publication of the Association, three or more months in advance of the vote on the revocation.

ARTICLE VIII

1. The trustees shall, at the end of each fiscal year, cause an inventory and appraisalment to be made of all the property of the trust estate. The inventory and appraisalment shall be made by some disinterested person, selected by the trustees.

2. An audit of the books and records of the trust estate shall be made at the end of each fiscal year. Such audit is to be made by a Certified Public Accountant selected by the Executive Council of the Southwestern Social Science Association.

3. The inventory, appraisalment, and audit shall be filed with the Board of Trustees and shall be available at the principal business office of the Board of Trustees to all persons interested therein. The inventory, appraisalment, and audit shall also be incorporated into the report of the Board of Trustees to the annual meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association.

ARTICLE IX

1. No provision of this trust shall be deemed or declared illegal, invalid, or unenforceable by reason of any other provision or provisions of this trust being declared illegal, invalid, or unenforceable.

2. In the event any one or more provisions of this trust are declared illegal, invalid, or unenforceable, every other provision of this trust shall still be effective.

ARTICLE X

1. The details as now contained in this instrument are deemed valid in their

entirety, practicable, and best adapted to the conditions now existing and foreseen as probable to exist for many years to come.

2. Nevertheless, there is a possibility that present laws have been misinterpreted; that existing decisions may be overruled or extended; it is also probable that new laws may be enacted; that such new decisions and new laws may undergo change or reversal; and, certainly, that conditions affecting the conduct of business, the management of trust funds, the investment of the same, will change and keep on changing. Consequently, it is agreed that it shall be possible and the parties hereto are empowered to amend this instrument in any and each respect whatever, if and whenever, and as often as and, to whatever extent, they may deem best, subject only, however, to conditions as follows:

a. Each amendment must be consistent with the primary purpose of this trust.

b. The trust may be amended by resolution upon the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the Southwestern Social Science Association present and voting at any annual business meeting, provided the amendment shall have been proposed by a majority of the Executive Council or by petition of fifteen or more members and submitted to the membership by publication in the *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, the official publication of the Association, three or more months in advance of the vote on the amendment. The trust may be amended without prior notice by unanimous vote of the members present at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association.

Trustees of the Southwestern Social Science Association Foundation were duly nominated and elected by unanimous vote:

One-year term: Cortez A. M. Ewing

Two-year term: Rupert N. Richardson

Three-year term: John S. Kyser

Four-year term: H. A. Dulan

Five-year term: W. M. Pritchett

President Sorrell asked Dr. Pritchett to serve as temporary chairman of the Trustees.

It was moved, seconded, and passed that the first paragraph of Section III of the Constitution be amended to read as follows:

Membership in the Association shall be open to individuals, libraries, and educational institutions—hereinafter referred to as "sustaining members." Membership is in the Association, and any member may participate in the activities of such subject-matter Sections as he may choose. To promote the growth and fullest success of the subject-matter Sections in their programs, individual members shall indicate (when assuming membership and annually upon payment of dues) those Sections which represent their field or fields of special interest and in which they wish to work.

The following report of the Resolutions Committee as presented by G. L. Guthrie, chairman, was approved by formal vote:

Whereas, the success of our Association during the past year has been due largely to the leadership and faithful service of its officers, and whereas the duties of these officers have been performed at great personal sacrifice, be it therefore resolved that the Southwestern Social Science Association in session this 12th day of April, 1952, express its deep appreciation and sincere thanks to the following persons:

Vernon G. Sorrell, president of the Association; H. R. Mundhenke, first vice-president; L. P. Gabbard, second vice-president; Ralph L. Edgel, general program chairman; George T. Walker, secretary-treasurer; Oliver Benson, editor of the *Quarterly*, and to all section program chairmen and sectional officers.

Be it further resolved that the Association make special acknowledgment of the outstanding contributions of Dr. Walker who has served three consecutive terms as secretary-treasurer, and of Dr. Benson who has so ably served for many years as editor of the *Quarterly*.

Be it further resolved that the Association express its thanks to John Ise of the University of Kansas whose address at the Conference Dinner was one of the highlights of the 1952 Convention.

Be it further resolved that the Association express its thanks to Harvey H. Guice, chairman of the local arrangements committee, and the members of his committee, to the Baker Hotel for the splendid convention facilities, and to the Dallas Chamber of Commerce for its assistance in making the convention a success, and to the following publishing companies which furnished book exhibits and also made financial contributions to the Association: American Book Company; D. C. Heath and Company; Houghton Mifflin Company; Richard D. Irwin, Inc.; McGraw-Hill Book Company; A. J. Nystrom and Company; Prentice-Hall, Inc.; Rinehart and Company; and Southwestern Publishing Company.

Rupert N. Richardson, as chairman of the Nominating Committee, made a brief oral report prior to the submission of nominees for officers. In this part of the report the Committee:

1. Indicated that it had studied the advantages and disadvantages in various methods of nominating and selecting officers and was convinced that the Association should continue its present method.
2. Urged members of the Association to recommend individuals to the Nominating Committee.
3. Recommended that at least one member of the Nominating Committee be continued on the committee for the following year.

The Committee submitted the following nominees:

For president, H. R. Mundhenke, economics, Texas Christian University.

For first vice-president, Carl M. Rosenquist, sociology, University of Texas.

For second vice-president, P. F. Boyer, business research, Louisiana State University.

It was moved, seconded, and passed that the report be accepted, the nominations closed, and the nominees elected by acclamation.

The meeting adjourned.

Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Council

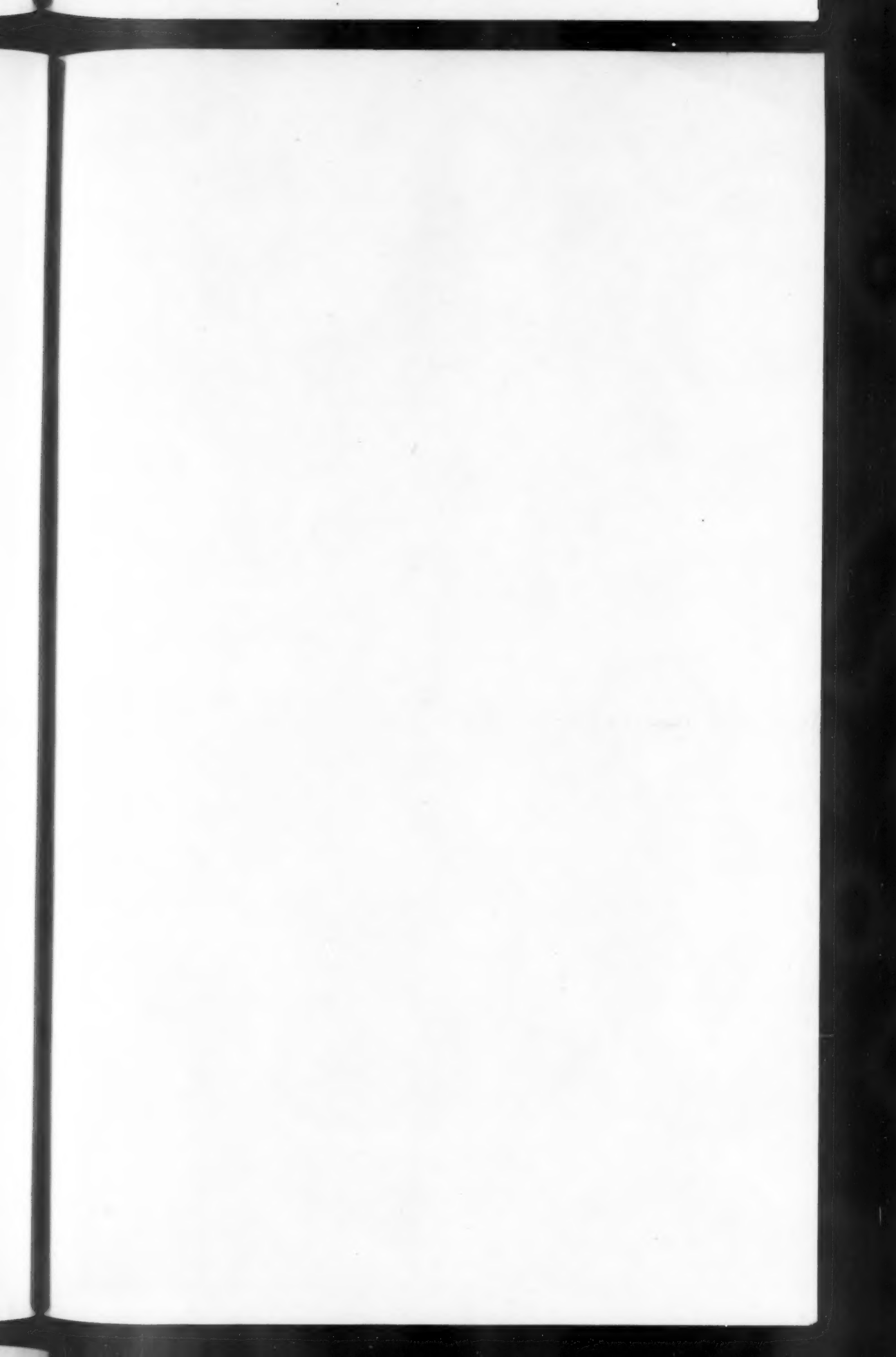
The incoming Executive Council met at 9:15 a.m. on April 12, 1952, in the Baker Hotel. The following members were present: H. R. Mundhenke, Vernon C. Sorrell, J. L. Waller, G. Sjoberg (representing Carl Rosenquist), P. F. Boyer, Ralph Edgel, Oliver Benson, Marion B. Smith, E. Burl Austin, Clay L. Cochran, N. N. Duncan, Rufus G. Hall, Jr., and George T. Walker.

Dr. Mundhenke reported that Dr. Walker had indicated several months before that he would like to be relieved as secretary-treasurer as soon as a suitable replacement could be named by the Council, and preferably at the time of the 1952 Convention. It was moved, seconded, and passed that each member of the Council would submit the names of candidates to President Mundhenke within 30 days and that he in turn would submit the candidates to the Council for a formal vote.

It was moved, seconded, and passed that Oliver Benson be re-elected editor-in-chief of the *Quarterly*, and that George T. Walker be re-elected secretary-treasurer to serve until a successor is selected by the Council.

It was moved, seconded, and passed that the Association meet at Dallas in 1953 and that the secretary-treasurer make a survey of available convention facilities outside of the Dallas-Forth Worth area for 1954.

The meeting was adjourned.



Preface

This issue of the *Quarterly* is frankly experimental. In grouping the five articles which follow under a central title, the editor must explain that the authors did not write them in collaboration, nor even by any central plan. Each was submitted independently. The editor is responsible for the decision to group them under a general title. Accordingly each author's contribution must be judged not by its relevance to the title "How Vulnerable Is Communism?" but by its separate treatment of the author's selected subject.

The result, it seems to the editor, is striking evidence of the extent to which the Great Contest has invaded every walk of life and every intellectual discipline. Here we have analyses by a sociologist, an agricultural economist, two political scientists, and a historian. Probably no two of them (the editor included) would agree with every conclusion herein contained. Where they meet is on the common ground of an objective approach to the facts and an honest effort to find meaning of general validity in those facts. They are presented in the conviction that they shed some light on a subject more commonly treated by heat alone.

Each in its own way, nevertheless, draws attention to certain weaknesses of Soviet Communism, and so reflects a basic doubt of absolutist convictions of either extreme left or extreme right that the free world is finished. "Free men are stronger than slaves," says Parsons, and each author in his own words agrees.

Anderson's article points up a general failure of Soviet theory: of economic theory in the revival of graded salaries, and modified versions of rent and interest, of labor theory in the introduction of a system of worker incentives and punishments, of class theory in the bitter struggles between peasant and state and between workers and their unions, and of political theory in the multiplication of controls which were supposed to wither away and in the complete failure of the Communist Party as monopolist of power to use its power on behalf of freedom.

Parsons demonstrates that the West is better equipped than the Russian monolith in know how and in democratic concern for humanity to appeal if it chooses to the aspirations for better life which Communism is trying to exploit throughout the underdeveloped two-thirds of the world. He calls, in brief, for a program of stealing their fire. We may have to wait for disillusionment with Communist performance in places already lost, but on our side is the advantage of the great reservoir of men who wish to be free.

Macdonald calls for exploitation of the widespread sentiment of Europeans for social democracy, the principles of which are so grotesquely betrayed by Russia. Fascist police state tactics, reduction in living stand-

ards in the satellites on Russia's behalf, subordination of national interests to power interests of Russia, and the threat of collectivization of farms, are special features which he singles out as certain to earn trouble for the Russian-propped governments of eastern Europe.

Mark finds more difficulty for the Russians than for communism as such in the area of his study, Southeast Asia. Peoples who have ousted one set of foreign rulers will hardly submit willingly to another; indeed a polity geared to village life will have difficulty shifting to the international orientation of Russian Communism. Foreseeing a development of power rivalries among communist countries, he feels there is more opportunity than the West is apt to take to seize leadership in the revolutionary movements of Asia.

Chen's picture of one important program of the Chinese Communists is a more dismal one, but by its minutiae reveals a veritable frenzy of activity against the venerable institution of the Chinese family, a rock which has survived many political surges of the past, and which is the greatest obstacle faced by the new regime.

Can any general lesson be gleaned from the articles as a whole? Perhaps only this: that all is not lost, that there is still hope. Perhaps too: that careful assessment of information, ceaseless concern with facts, thoughtful weighing of ideas, are as always valuable and valid techniques for the study of society.

In expressing his gratitude to the authors who have contributed to this issue, the editor reminds readers that the Southwestern Social Science Association does not sponsor any particular viewpoint; naturally then it does not support any viewpoint or opinion expressed in the articles, for which the authors are independently responsible.

Norman, Oklahoma
August 23, 1952

